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Sherman at Kenesaw Mountain, Oct. 4, 1864.

HE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF . . . . AMERICA TO THE PRESENT TIME

INCLUDING A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, COPIOUS ANNOTATIONS, A LIST OF AUTHORITIES AND REFERENCES, ETC.

PROFUSELY AND BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED, MAPS, CHARTS, PORTRAITS, FAMOUS HISTORIC SCENES AND EVENTS, AND A SERIES OF BEAUTIFUL POLYCHROMATIC PLATES

By EDWARD S. ELLIS, A. M.

AUTHOR OF "THE STANDARD HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," "YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," "THE ECLECTIC PRIMARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES," ETC.

ILLUSTRATORS

C. M. Relyea, H. A. Ogden, J. Steeple Davis, Warren Sheppard, W. H. Lippincott, A. B. Doggett, De Cost Smith, W. P. Snyder, Gilbert Gaul, W. C. Fitler, C. Kendrick, Joseph Gleeson, and others.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS, VOLUME V.

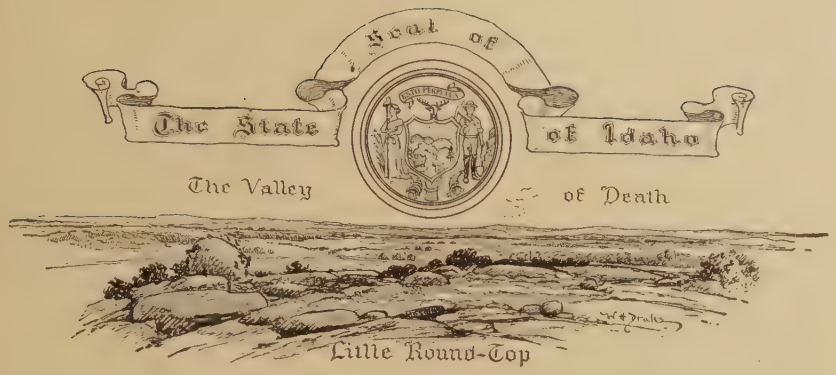
			PAGE
Chapter	LXXI.	Events of 1863—In the East (Concluded) .	1153
Chapter	LXXII.	Events of 1864—In the East	1201
Chapter	LXXIII.	Events of 1864 (Continued)—On the Coast	1234
Chapter	LXXIV.	Events of 1864 (Continued)—On the Ocean	1255
Chapter	LXXV.	Events of 1864 (Continued)—Sherman's Campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta	1275
Chapter	LXXVI.	Events of 1864 (Concluded)—From Atlanta to the Sea	1287
Chapter	LXXVII.	Events of 1865—The Grand Campaign . .	1309
Chapter	LXXVIII.	Johnson's Administration, 1865–1869 . .	1349
Chapter	LXXIX.	Grant's First Administration, 1869–1873 .	1374
Chapter	LXXX.	Grant's Second Administration, 1873–1877,	1389
Chapter	LXXXI.	Hayes' Administration, 1877–1881 . . .	1416

LIST OF FULL PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS, VOLUME V.

PAGE

Sherman at Kenesaw Mountain . . . . . Frontispiece
The Broken Shackles 1153
The Battle of Gettysburg, Third Day 1160
The Fight for Little Round Top 1163
Allatoona Pass, Georgia 1170
Ruins of the Stone Bridge on the Warrenton Turnpike . . . 1176
Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg 1182
Wounding of General Hancock 1188
The Zouave Monument 1196
Confederate Monument and Cemetery 1198
An Alexandria Ante-bellum Relic 1200
The Red River Expedition 1206
Grant in the Wilderness 1216
The Countersign 1222
Benjamin Butler and Staff 1228
Farragut in the Rigging 1236
Battle of Mobile Bay 1239
The Attack on the Ram "Tennessee," Mobile Bay 1245
An Extraordinary Occurrence 1247
Blowing Up of the "Albemarle" 1250
Captain John A. Winslow and Officers of the "Kearsarge" . . 1254
The "Shenandoah" Burning a Whaler 1258
The "Alabama" Attacking a Merchantman 1264
Sinking of the "Alabama" 1270
Sherman's Foragers on a Georgia Plantation 1274
The Battle of Atlanta 1278
Fall of General McPherson 1282
Sherman's Three Scouts 1290
Libby Prison. Leaving the Mouth of the Tunnel 1306
The Peace Conference at Hampton Roads 1312
Sheridan and his Generals at Five Forks 1318
Richmond during the Evacuation 1325
The McLean House, where General Lee Surrendered 1328
Lee's Surrender to Grant 1334
Capture of Jefferson Davis 1352
The Primary Cause of the War 1358
The Great Fire in Chicago 1380
Civil War in Little Rock 1398
General Custer's Battle Ground 1407
Pittsburgh Rioters 1419
Trial of the Molly Maguires 1439

THE BROKEN SHACKLES



CHAPTER LXXI (Concluded)

EVENTS OF 1863—*IN THE EAST* (*Concluded*)

Gettysburg, the Waterloo of the Confederacy

II

The Second Day

[*Authorities:* The mighty hosts have met in the death-grapple, and at the close of the first day the advantage rests with the Confederates. Once more it is Greek against Greek, and the world never saw braver fighting than when Blue met Gray. But the supreme struggle at Gettysburg is yet to come. Superb generalship and undaunted courage are displayed by both sides; and despite the severe loss and partial disaster of the first day, the Union army is ready and eager for the decisive struggle of the morrow. It is needful that they should take a brief breathing-spell, for the task that awaits them demands heroes for its accomplishment. The authorities for the facts of the battle of Gettysburg are numerous, but the most important have already been cited.]

General Meade's Headquarters

HAVING thoroughly examined the ground, General Meade made a number of important changes in the positions of the troops under his command, and at an early hour took measures to reinforce his left, which was close to the enemy. There was a great deal of shifting about; but in attempting to obey the orders of the commander, Sickles at first was unable to identify the position to which he had been assigned; but by nine o'clock he was in place. He deployed, however, only one of his two divisions, and was unable to reach beyond the base of Little Round Top, on which none of his force was posted.

It was at this juncture that Sickles made a movement for which he has been widely censured as well as defended. While many excellent authorities insist that he showed good generalship, President Lincoln himself expressing his gratitude for his services, others blame him for committing what they term a blunder that imperilled the safety of the whole Union army.

DANIEL E. SICKLES

The arrival of Burling's brigade had filled up the ranks of Humphrey's division, and, having deployed Birney's troops, Sickles now attempted to complete the formation of his corps. Leaving only Burling in the position held by Humphrey, he advanced the other brigades four hundred yards along the prolongation of the Second Corps. This change placed Humphrey at the extremity of the valley of Plum Run, and brought him closer under the command of the ridge along the Emmettsburg road. Five regiments were massed as the second line equally distant between Burling and the first line, and Sickles deployed the seven remaining regiments as the first line, pushing forward his advance-posts to the road he desired to clear. The Union skirmishers, after occupying the Rogers house, levelled the fences on that side.

The Union Re-enforcements

The Union reenforcements continued to arrive. The Fifth Corps had halted on the right of Williams' division, but, on the arrival of Geary to post his troops on Culp's Hill, Slocum brought back all his forces to the west bank of Rock Creek. Geary planted himself upon the wooded side of Culp's Hill; Williams extended his line in the same direction by resting his right on McAllister's Hill, and the two divisions quickly threw up intrenchments in front. The Fifth Corps was posted close to the main road, not far from Rock Creek. In this position of reserve, they could be readily sent to the help of

the right, centre, or left. The reserve artillery by Meade's orders was parked in a central position between the Baltimore and Taneytown roads.

Thus by nine o'clock the Union line was rectified. All the corps excepting one had arrived, and were in position. The Round Tops were to answer as a rest for the left of the Federal army, Culp's Hill serving the same purpose on the right, and Cemetery Hill in the centre.

Lee's Positions

Let us now see what was done by Lee in the way of preparation for the decisive struggle. At daylight, Ewell's whole corps was drawn up on the battle-field, Johnson being on the left, resting upon Rock Creek on Benner's Hill. Early in the centre faced the bridge that joins Culp's Hill with Cemetery Hill. Rodes was on the right at the base of Cemetery Hill, most of his force occupying Gettysburg, while his right connected with the Third Corps on Seminary Hill. The two divisions of the Third, which had done hard fighting the day before, kept their positions. Pender was above the seminary on the left, Heth on the right, and Hill's third division was more than a mile to the rear on the Cashtown road between Willoughby Run and Marsh Creek.

McLaws' and Hood's divisions (excepting Law's brigade) of the First Corps had followed Anderson along the Cashtown road, halting three-fourths of a mile to the right of Marsh Creek. Before it was light, Anderson advanced in the direction of Seminary Hill, and Hood and McLaws, giving their men but a short rest, also marched toward Gettysburg. Pickett left Chambersburg, and Law left New Guilford, while Stuart, the errant cavalry leader, having received word from his chief, was making all haste from Carlisle to join him. Thus at nine o'clock the whole Southern army was gathered around the town, with the exception of Stuart's cavalry and the six thousand infantry of Pickett and Law.

Lee's Orders

Lee had decided to attack the Union right. He directed Longstreet to move his two divisions to that side, along the prolongation of Hill's line, so as to assault without delay. Longstreet, however, was dissatisfied with the order of his chief and went to headquarters to impress his own views, but Lee had at last made up his mind and gave directions to Longstreet, who was to make the main attack. These orders, however, were not very clear, for it was the custom of Lee to allow the details of such movements to be carried out by the

officers entrusted with them. Leaving Longstreet, therefore, to do as directed, the chief rode off to examine the Union right, which Ewell was making ready to attack.

When the chief came back, Longstreet was not yet ready, and the two generals spent several hours in reconnoitring the ground over which the First Corps was to advance to the Warfield ridge. At eleven o'clock Lee instructed Longstreet to envelop the Union left, and to open the attack by following the line of the Emmettsburg road, thus assailing the extreme Federal left.

Longstreet's Instructions

A study of the map will show that when Longstreet executed the movement assigned him, the Confederate line, concave in form, would be five and a half miles long, the two extremities facing each other at a distance of three miles, with the Union army, of convex contour, between them.

Ewell was directed to attack the enemy when the sound of cannon should make known the opening of the battle on the right, while the Third Corps in the centre held itself ready to support the right and left, whenever the Federal lines should give way. Thus the Confederate army, stretching out in a more extended line than the Union, was to make the attack at the two extremities, the centre coming to the support at the proper time.

Longstreet, as we have said, was opposed to the plan of attack, and displayed no haste to enter upon the task assigned him. He had only six brigades with which to open battle, and his wish was to postpone the assault until the next day, when he could have the help of Pickett and Law's brigade. His request was so urgent that Lee consented to wait for Law, who was to arrive at noon. It was not long before Law joined Hood's other brigades, massed behind Seminary Hill at the west and to the rear of the Third Corps.

An Ominous Silence

Noon had come and gone, and still the Confederate army was silent. As may be believed, Meade and his generals wondered what it all meant. Little Round Top was occupied by our signal officers, who telegraphed the movements of troops towards the south. Meade feared that Lee, trying to disguise a flank march, meant to turn the position between Taneytown and Gettysburg. If that was his purpose, the Union army would have to fall back upon Willoway or Pipe Creek. Since it was all important that the intention of the Confederate leader should be known at the earliest moment, Meade ordered his staff to examine the position of each corps and the paths

by which they could fall back. Desirous of learning from his subordinates the condition of the troops and the nature of the ground that each would have to defend, as well as the best steps to take in view of every contingency, General Meade called a council at his headquarters.

About this time, however, the safety of the Union line was com-

WESLEY MERRITT

promised by one of those blunders against which no human foresight can guard. Having been informed that Gregg's division of cavalry had joined him and was clearing his left flank (the menaced point), Meade had given Pleasonton permission to send Buford's two brigades, that had fought so hard the preceding day, to Westminster. But instead, Buford alone covered his flank, this fact not becoming known to Meade until one o'clock. He at once ordered Pleasonton

A Blunder

not to strip him, but when the order reached the cavalry leader, Buford had gone.

Merritt, who was hurrying toward Gettysburg, was still a long way off, and Sickles was left with only his infantry skirmishers to watch the enemy who was certainly in force in front of him. Learning that Buford had gone at the very time he was so much needed, Sickles decided, in order to guard against surprise, to advance his whole line as far as the Emmettsburg road. He was convinced that the

A Union Repulse

Confederate attack would soon be made at that point, and to protect the position of the orchard, as it was called, he sent Colonel Berdan to push a reconnaissance with two regiments along the Millerstown road. About noon, Berdan, while making this reconnaissance, was attacked and driven back with serious loss. But the object of the movement was attained, for it disclosed the presence of the enemy in great force, and his actions indicated that he was trying to turn the Union left.

There could be no doubt in the mind of Sickles that the enemy was preparing to launch himself against that part of the line entrusted to his charge, and he sent to Meade for fresh instructions. Not receiving a reply as soon as he expected, he rode to headquarters for them. General Meade was told that Geary had left Sickles no distinct position to defend, and he wished to advance with his entire force as far as the Emmettsburg road. It was now eleven o'clock, and Sickles asked his chief to see for himself whether the movement was advisable, or to send General Warren for that purpose.

Meade was unwilling to allow Warren to be away at that critical time, and he told Sickles to keep the position taken the day before by Geary, pointing at the Round Tops as the place where he should

Sickles' Danger

align himself. By Sickles' repeated request, General Hunt accompanied him back and pointed out what he believed to be the best positions, but he refrained from giving a formal opinion about the occupation of the new line, which would change the entire order of battle. Hunt returned to headquarters, where he asked Meade himself to go to the left and decide the question, but the chief was awaiting the presence of his corps commanders, Sickles among the others, for the purpose of reaching a better understanding with them.

But Sickles' doubts became certainty when Colonel Berdan returned from his reconnaissance. The enemy was arranging to attack upon the ground that he held. Sickles took possession of the Em-

mettsburg road as far as the orchard, with his whole corps. Without entering into detail respecting this movement, it may be said that it would have been a good one had the Confederates attacked in front as Sickles expected them to do, and for which he prepared. It was a bad move if the attack fell upon the extreme left, and that is just where it did fall.

The flaming July sun has crossed the zenith and is sinking toward

BATTLEFIELD FROM LITTLE ROUND TOP, GETTYSBURG

The Final Preparations

the western horizon. All through the burning hours, the awful preparations have been going on. The vast bodies of men covering many square miles of wood, ridge, and plain are shifting back and forth here and there under the eyes of their leaders, who comprehend the fearful contest that is soon to open, in which the stake is the life of the Union.

Horses have been plunging hither and thither, dragging ponderous cannon into position; the long lines of men, with their muskets gleaming in the sunlight, are moved from point to point, until the trained eyes of the officers can see nothing more to be done in the way of adding strength to the vast multitudes that are making ready for battle.

Sickles, in answer to a summons from Meade, rode towards headquarters. As he reined up his horse, the boom of cannon was heard behind him. There was no time to dismount, and wheeling his steed about, he rode back with the chief. The latter saw at a glance that a single corps was not strong enough to hold the extended line. General Warren was hurried off to decide which points were in the greatest need of help. Seeing his mistake, he proposed to fall back, but pointing to the woods on the left, Meade told him it was too late. The rattle of musketry on the right showed that Hood had opened the fight, and the artillery fire against the orchard was increasing every moment.

Opening of the Battle

Hood, while pushing beyond the Emmettsburg road, was struck by the importance of Little Round Top, and he ordered Law to bear to the right, with a view of assailing that point. Robertson saw the meaning of the movement and imitated it. Preceded by a cloud of skirmishers, he dashed forwards to attack the position. The Unionists were awaiting them. Ward's brigade was reduced to five regiments. A savage struggle took place along the slopes up which the Southerners were climbing. The Confederate Robertson, in extending his left to surround Ward, endangered his flank. De Trobriand forced his soldiers back, and Ward regained the ground he had just lost.

The First Texas strove desperately to capture Smith's battery, but the effort was vain, and incurred great loss. Anderson struck De Trobriand's centre, but was driven back. The timely arrival of the Confederate Benning enabled the three brigades to renew the attack with numbers superior to the Federals. De Trobriand and Ward fought with the utmost desperation, Winslow's and Smith's batteries giving them all the support they could; but they lost heavily, and there was no reserve to go to their assistance.

The Struggle for the Round Tops

Hood did not forget that the Round Tops were his objective point. The higher elevation seemed beyond his power, and he turned his efforts towards capturing the smaller one. The task was given to Law, who reached the Plum Run valley, ascending it again between the slopes of Devil's Den and those of the Round Tops. The Southerners were full of ardor, and their shouts rang above the rattle of musketry while they rushed forward, as if to sweep every obstacle from their path. Four Union brigades ambushed themselves behind the rocks to meet the ferocious charge of Hood. The latter compelled them to give ground.

BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, THIRD DAY

Anderson was wounded and his second assault repulsed, but the coming of Benning overthrew Ward. The Federals were driven out foot by foot, and three of Smith's guns fell into the hands of the enemy, the rest of the battery being in imminent danger also of capture.

Longstreet's Orders

Longstreet had directed McLaws' division, after leaving the wood it occupied, to deploy in two lines across the Emmettsburg road, which it was to follow and attack the Union position in the orchard as soon as turned by Hood. The extension of the line of the latter, however, compelled McLaws to expose his flank if he obeyed orders.

Kershaw was directed to cross the Emmettsburg road to support Hood's left, with Semmes, commanding the right, following him. Kershaw speedily reached the Rose house, where the roughness of the ground forced him to cross the upper part of the tributary of Plum Run, and he charged against the wooded hill held by De Trobriand's centre.

The Confederate infantry near the Emmettsburg road had not yet been brought into action, although it was half-past five o'clock, and they turned the fire of their guns on the Warfield ridge against the two brigades of Humphrey and that of Graham. Soon a part of Hill's artillery opened on the position of the Second Corps of the Union army, which vigorously replied.

Convinced of the weakness of Sickles' position, and knowing that it was too late for him to withdraw, General Meade authorized him to ask Hancock for a division from his right, and notified him of the speedy coming of the Fifth Corps. Sykes had been ordered to bring this corps to the support of the left of the Third, which was threatened.

This order was given to Sykes before the departure of Meade from headquarters, and, riding back a full mile to the rear of the Round Tops, he put the troops in motion to place them on the extreme left. While engaged in doing so, Kershaw rushing across the ravine, as we have shown, attacked the different positions. Sweitzer was so well posted that the attack was repulsed. Kershaw then assailed Tilton's brigade, which was forced back; Sweitzer was compelled to follow, and reenforcements from the Third Corps, fighting bravely on the left of the two brigades, were thereby placed in great danger. Sykes found it necessary to bring into action all his men in order to defend that part of the line in his care.

Kershaw's Advance

Often the slightest incidents decide the greatest conflicts, and it came to pass that in this crisis of the tremendous struggle, the readiness of one man, favored by events that seemed providential, averted a Union disaster which, according to all human reasoning, would have been fatal.

Warren's Foresight

Between three and four o'clock, General Warren climbed Little Round Top, where the signal corps was stationed. They told him that they believed the enemy was in the woods beyond Plum Run and the Emmettsburg road. By way of settling the question, a shot was fired in that direction. The whiz of the ball caused a movement among the Confederates crouching below, which revealed the flash of their muskets to the watchful Warren.

The latter saw that defenders must be got at once for Little Round Top or it would be lost, for the projectiles of the troops that were forcing their way to the spot were ploughing the ground around Warren and the signal officers. Indeed, the shots were coming so fast that the officers began to gather up their instruments to seek safer quarters. Warren told them to stay where they were and to keep waving their flags, in order to deceive the enemy until reenforcements could be secured.

It was a critical moment, for Warren, the accomplished engineer, seemed to be the only one who understood the measureless importance of Little Round Top.

A Timely Arrival

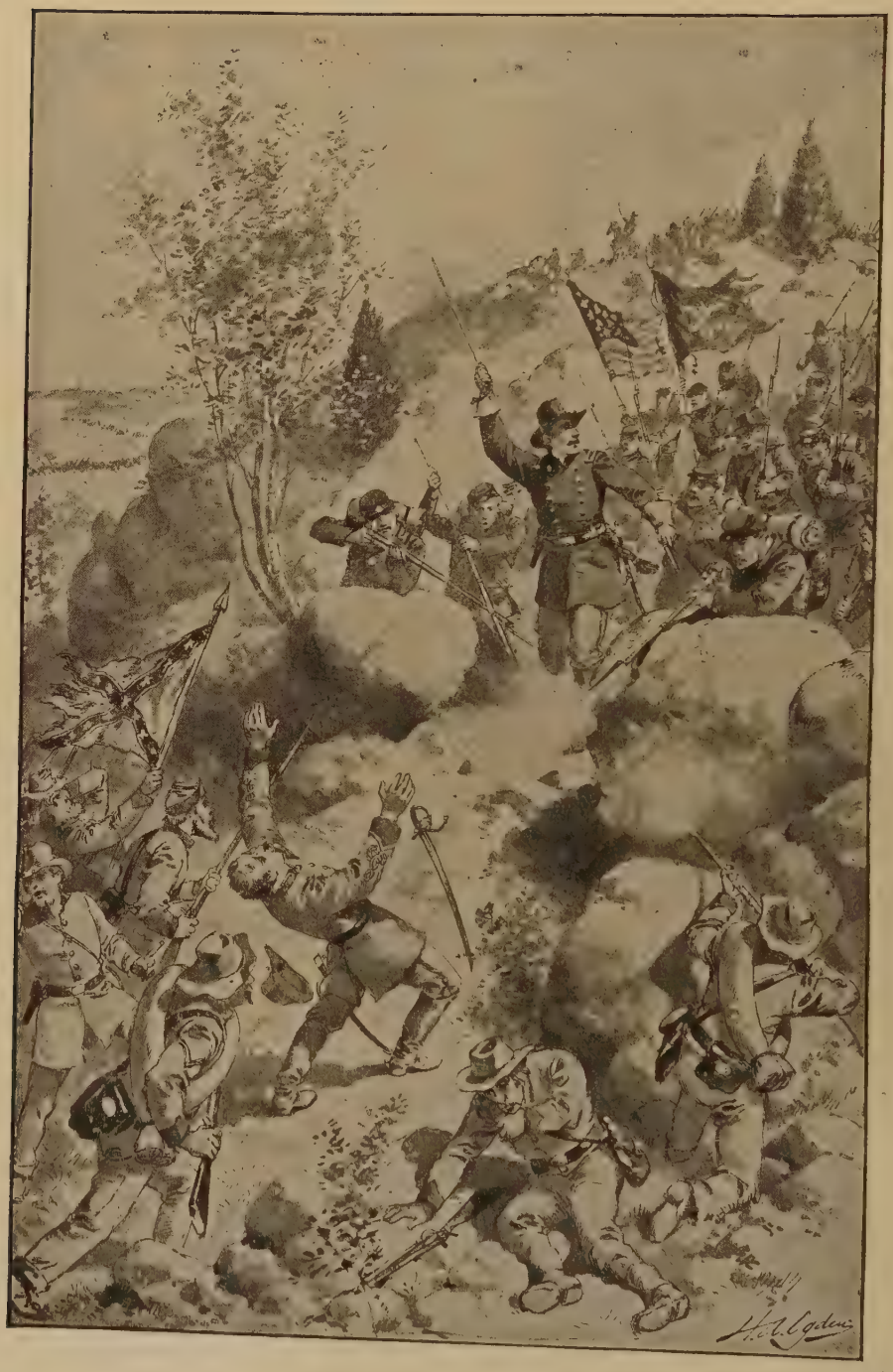
The Third Brigade of Ayres' division of the Fifth Corps, led by General Weed, was advancing along the road considerably ahead of the rest of the division. Hastening to meet them, General Warren recognized an old friend, Colonel O'Rourke, commander of the first regiment. Warren had only to make known his wishes for the gallant colonel to comply. Leaving the rest of the brigade to continue its march, O'Rourke led his regiment up the side of Little Round Top. General Vincent had reached the southern extremity of the hill, and he posted his several regiments so as to resist the advance of Law's soldiers, who were forcing their way to the spot.

The arrival of these defenders could not have been more timely, for the impetuous Hood and his yelling Texans had reached the foot of the elevation which they were eager to capture. With louder shouts than before, the assailants threw themselves upon the centre of Vincent's brigade. The Confederates were received with a furious fire, which stopped them.

Instead of retreating, however, the Texans dodged behind the rocks, shouting at the Federals, many of whom were similarly concealed, like so many American Indians. The fire of the small band

G. K. WARREN

of crouching Unionists was so galling that Law determined to turn their position. His flanking movement was so successful that there was danger of Vincent becoming isolated from the rest of the army, while Little Round Top, on whose summit the signal



'THE FIGHT' FOR LITTLE ROUND TOP

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officers were vigorously waving their flags, looked as if nothing could save it.

At the very moment the Federals were falling back before their fiery assailants, O'Rourke and his soldiers reached the top of the hill on a run. Law's soldiers were coming at the same rushing pace up the other side of the elevation. But the Federals won the race by a

STATUE OF GEN. WARREN

few seconds. They had no time to load their guns, fix bayonets, or even form in line of battle. The gray-coats were swarming up the slope, and had they been a minute or two sooner, Little Round Top would have been irrecoverably theirs.

A Desperate Struggle

O'Rourke shouted and led the charge down the slope. The Southerners were surprised, but they poured a destructive volley into their assailants. The others, however, brandished their muskets, and, with yells that rivalled those of the Confederates, made straight for them. The foremost were captured by the Federals, and a sharp

fire was rained on the others. The Federals that were retreating stopped, rallied, and returned to the help of their comrades. By desperate exertions of all the men that could get around Hazlett's battery, the guns were dragged to the top and placed in position.

The air was full of singing bullets and the cannon could not be depressed enough to reach the enemy along the slopes, but Hazlett aimed for the Confederate reserve in the valley, and kept hammering with a vigor that was of great help to the Union infantry.

Little Round Top Saved

The fight for Little Round Top was marked by the greatest ferocity. Union and Confederate fought as if the fate of the armies depended upon their efforts. Colonel O'Rourke and a number of other officers were killed, besides a great many that were wounded. One regiment alone lost more than a hundred men. Vincent was slain, and Hood himself badly wounded; but for the time Little Round Top was secure.

On the other side of Plum Run, the arrival of the Confederate Kershaw caused the two Federal brigades to yield the ground they had recovered, and the positions of Ward and De Trobriand were once more in danger. The former was forced to abandon the entire hill of Devil's Den, and the Confederates flanked a Maine regiment posted behind the wall, entered the wheat-field, and compelled the removal of the guns to the rear. De Trobriand was outflanked, and with his wofully reduced brigade driven back.

Everything was going wrong, when Caldwell's fine division arrived. General Meade had read aright the meaning of Longstreet's attack, and he instantly detached Caldwell's division from the Second Corps, sending it to the threatened point with so much promptness that the effect was decisive.

The Irish Brigade

One of the brigades went to the help of De Trobriand's command, and another crossed Plum Run to support Ward. Just before advancing, this brigade halted and in silence knelt on the earth. The priest, mounting a rock, pronounced absolution for them all. Then they rose to their feet, and with the golden harp on the green flag of Erin floating above them, as it had floated on many a bloody battle-field, they rushed to the charge "as to a festival," under the leadership of the gallant Meagher.

The advance of Anderson's brigade was stopped by the Irishmen, and a charge against Kershaw drove him back upon Semmes' brigade directly behind it. The latter hurled himself against Caldwell, but

then he pushed forward his second line, and Semmes was flung back to the other side of the ravine, while Kershaw on the left was also dislodged. To escape being surrounded, the Confederates withdrew towards the Rose house, where Kershaw devoted his energies to rallying the largest part of his brigade.

Reenforcements reached the extreme Union left about this time, in front of Little Round Top, where Weed arrived at the moment that Vincent was mortally wounded. The impetuosity of Law prevented Weed deploying his battalions, the efforts of the Confederate officer being directed towards flanking the Federal line, so as to reach Little Round Top by way of the eastern side of the ridge. Once more the fighting was hand to hand, and of the fiercest character. The Maine lumbermen prolonged their line more and more, gradually bringing it to the rear so as to defeat the manœuvre of Law, which, if successful, would have been fatal.

Another Fight for Little Round Top

Up to this time, the battle of Gettysburg had been confined to the space between Plum Run and its tributary, but it now expanded rapidly. Meade divined where the heaviest blows were to fall. All the force in hand was sent into position on the left. The Sixth Corps, that had arrived but three hours before from a thirty-mile march, relieved the Fifth in position at Rock Creek bridge. Sykes had flung four brigades of this corps into the battle, and the other five were on their way to join them. The rapid manœuvring and the prolonged resistance of De Trobriand enabled Meade to reenforce his left until it was stronger than its assailants.

Hood's division had fought so long and so furiously that it was worn out. Robertson and all the leading officers of his brigade were wounded, and Benning was in so much danger of being flanked by Caldwell that he dared not advance beyond the top of Devil's Den. McLaws, who had been in position a long while, had thrown forward only two brigades in support of Hood in front of the orchard.

At six o'clock Hill was waiting for the troops on his right to march, in order that he might advance across the broad space between him and the enemy, with his right flank protected. Seeing Semmes and Kershaw driven back by Caldwell, McLaws determined to attack the orchard, which was defended by two of Sickles' brigades under Graham, with both of their flanks exposed.

Peril of the Confederates

The Confederate artillery fire was slackened and the infantry was put in motion, Barksdale advancing against the flank on the west,

while Wofford attacked the south front with the help of some of Kershaw's men that had not retreated. Graham fought with a bravery that could not be excelled, but his soldiers kept falling rapidly. The Federals poured canister into the ranks of the assailants, but could not check them. Their infantry, like a vast wave, overflowed the orchard. Graham was wounded and taken prisoner. Sickles hurried out from the Trostle house, but received a ball in his leg which broke it, and he turned over the command to Birney. The batteries on the Emmettsburg road, unable longer to defend their positions, abandoned them.

Sickles Wounded

Birney's division was caught in a whirlwind of fire. Out of five thousand men, two thousand were lost. Barksdale, followed by several batteries, charged into the breach between Humphreys' left and Barnes' right. Leaving to his reserves the work of assailing these divisions in the rear, he still pressed on, as if nothing could stop him. His men fell on every hand, but his own fiery example encouraged them.

Wofford, on Barksdale's right, bore to the eastward to flank the Union regiments that were holding Kershaw in check. In less than an hour the movement was crowned with success. Humphreys' left was turned and his right was threatened by a superior force. By the admirable discipline of his men, he succeeded, in spite of his severe loss, in taking position along the line which it was all-important to keep. The orchard was lost, and the slaughter was fearful.

A Union Retreat

Having driven the Federals out of the wood and wheat-field, which were thickly strewn with the dead and dying, the Confederates took possession, and, posting themselves in the wood, commanded all the approaches. Their artillery, thundering down the slopes of the orchard, opened on the Union flank. A savage charge against the enemy was repulsed, and the Federal line was broken beyond the power of the decimated brigades to re-form it. Thrown into disorder, the troops retreated to the wooded hillocks on the left side of Plum Run.

Upon receiving news of the wounding of Sickles, General Meade ordered Hancock to take command of the Third Corps. He turned his efforts at once towards uniting the two divisions of the Union line. Humphreys had completed the movement to which we have referred, having lost most of his guns after a brave struggle that delayed the advance of the enemy on the left. Two thousand Unionists, after

the loss of more than half their number, retreated in fair order and posted themselves on the right of Weed, east of Plum Run at the northern base of Little Round Top.

It was about an hour previous to this that Law's soldiers were fighting the Maine lumbermen along the flank opposite this hill. Weed, the Union leader, was mortally wounded near Hazlett's battery, whose commander, while listening to his last words, was also struck and fell dead across the expiring officer. A charge upon the

POSITION OF THE 28TH PENNSYLVANIA AND CULP'S HILL

Confederates drove them back with the loss of several hundred killed and dying. A couple of brigades of regulars took position on the right bank of Plum Run, and prevented any fresh demonstration by the enemy against Little Round Top.

Danger of the Union Left

The impetuosity of Barksdale and Wofford threatened to cut off the left from the rest of the Union army. The two brigades pushed on at a rapid pace, over an open country that gave great advantage to the Confederate artillery. Five batteries hurried after them, inflicting great damage on Humphreys. To close the broad gap in their line, the Federals were compelled to re-form along the positions which Sickles had given up a few hours before.

The trees and bushes in the small valley of Plum Run, separating these positions from the Emmetsburg road, afforded a shelter to the Confederates from the artillery fire of the Second Corps, which, as it advanced, bore more and more upon their flank. An acclivity up which the Confederates would have to climb in order to continue their charge gave great aid to the Federals, and Hancock was prompt to turn it to account. The artillery was placed so as to command it, and the most thorough preparation made to repel the enemy.

Hancock's Promptness

General Meade had hurried to the threatened point, the troops which he had called from the right being in motion. When the concentration should be effected, the Federals would outnumber the enemy, but at half-past seven o'clock it was doubtful whether these reenforcements would reach the point in time to save the left from being overwhelmed.

Those were precious minutes to the enemy, during which he should have pressed the attack at all points; but Hill and Lee were unaware of the fight that Johnson was making at Culp's Hill, and the troops that had secured the victory did not move.

In restoring the Union line, Hancock and Meade performed prodigies. The chief put himself at the head of Lockwood's soldiers farther to the left, and the two regiments, entering the wood north of the Millerstown road, attacked Anderson's brigade on the other side of Plum Run. They were supported by McCandless, who connected them with the rest of Sykes' troops. Other reenforcements from the Sixth Corps arrived for the line formed by the Fifth from Little Round Top to McGilvery's batteries. Law's attack was repulsed.

The brigades of McLaws and Anderson formed the left of the Confederate attack, against which the Federals made all preparation. Great Round Top had been strongly occupied. On the extreme left, Sedgwick had posted himself behind this eminence, ready to support three brigades which he had sent towards Plum Run. Newton, obeying the orders of Meade, brought Doubleday's division, with a part of Robinson's, to the weak point between Round Tops and Cemetery Hill.

Barksdale's Charge and Fall

Against this strong line, the furious Barksdale rode at the head of his troops and fell from his horse mortally wounded, while his men were repulsed so vigorously that they had to leave their dying chief in the hands of the Federals. Longstreet, who was personally direct-

ALLATOONA PASS, GEORGIA

ing the fight, waited in vain for Kershaw and Semmes, who had suffered too severely to advance beyond the ground captured from Caldwell. A timely reenforcement would have enabled the enemy to secure Ziegler's Grove, and, as a consequence, the very centre of the Union line; but though the rest of Hill's corps was watching the fight from the top of Seminary Hill and were eager to take part, no movement to do so was made. The final effort of the Confederates against the Union left was a failure. Night closed in, and the sound of musketry and cannon firing ceased on that portion of the battle-field.

Failure Against the Union Left

But fighting was still going on towards the right wing of the Union army. It will be remembered that at six o'clock Johnson was making ready to attack Culp's Hill through the gorges of Rock Creek. Howard and a part of Robinson's division were posted on Cemetery Hill, with abundant artillery, while Wadsworth held the north front of Culp's Hill. He had thrown up strong breastworks of trees, earth, and stones, and coolly awaited the assault of the enemy.

Advancing from the open slopes that he had occupied, Johnson marched down towards Rock Creek. His division in two lines crossed the shallow stream without opposition, his artillery having been left on Benner's Hill. The intrenchments from the ravine to Spangler's Spring were defended by a small force, which was driven out by Johnson's right, which captured the part extending south of the ravine. The Federals, however, who remained in possession of the other part, opened upon him with an oblique fire. The Union right being turned, the line was prolonged towards the west, and the right was posted on the other side of the ravine. Greene, the Union commander, asked the officers on Cemetery Hill for reenforcements; but a few minutes later the Confederates advanced upon him from all sides.

Greene's Gallant Defence

The latter outnumbered the Federals, who, however, were strongly protected by their intrenchments, and as the enemy came up the slopes of Culp's Hill they were mowed down by the defenders, who were so well sheltered that they lost but few men. The Confederates fought with characteristic recklessness, losing heavily, but at ten o'clock they had been defeated at every point.

At the same time that Johnson set out upon his fruitless attack, Ewell, the commander of the Second Corps, ordered Early and Rodes to advance. The former had deployed his troops to the left

of Gettysburg towards Rock Creek, while Rodes was posted in the town itself.

The Confederate Advance

Had Early and Rodes moved in concert, the assault must have succeeded, but their advance was disjointed, Early's troops getting far ahead of the others. Cemetery Hill, therefore, received the attack of only two brigades, which scaled the eastern front under a blaze of artillery. To this was soon added a sharp discharge of musketry, but the Confederate advance was resistless. The defenders were driven back upon the second line along the ridge of the hill, and the works were carried.

The rest of the Eleventh Corps, consisting of three brigades, was on the west front of Cemetery Hill with their faces turned away from those just driven in. Whirling about, they went to the help of the routed division.

Th Confederates had captured the northern extremity of the hill, and w e fighting the Union artillerists for the works constituting the key of the whole position. For an hour the Federals strove desperately to drive their assailants back to the foot of the elevation. The issue was exceedingly doubtful, when, a little before nine o'clock, Hancock, who feared that matters were going wrong, sent two regiments of the Second Corps to Wadsworth, with Carroll's brigade to the help of Howard. The latter arrived at the very time it was sorely needed.

The disjointed nature of the Confederate attack on the Union centre is shown by the fact that out of the seven brigades that were ready to take part, only two were engaged. Rodes remained near Gettysburg, and the assault on the Union centre, like that on the left, came to naught.

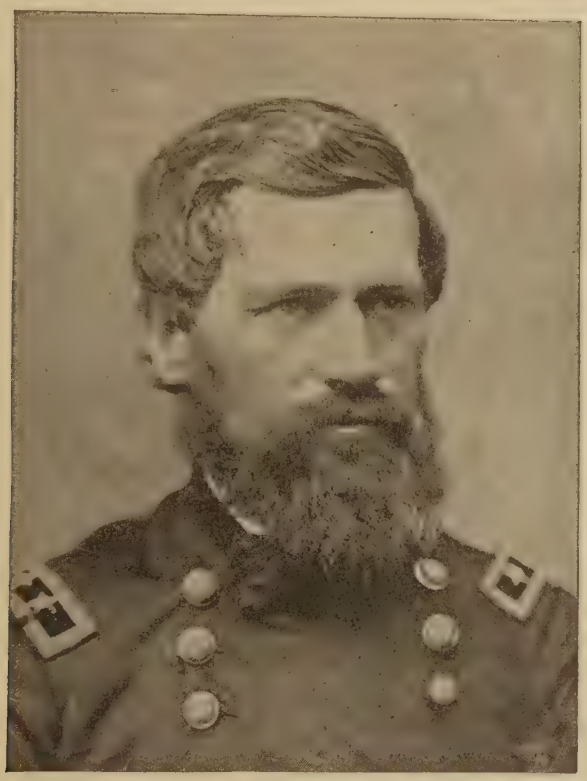
Failure of the Attack on the Union Centre

Summing up the operations of the day, it may be said that the attack upon the Union left by Longstreet forced back Sickles from the advanced position he had occupied against the judgment of General Meade, and the Southerners pressed on towards the eastern ridge. Meade strengthened his left by the Fifth Corps under Slocum, but the Confederates were reenforced, and, fighting hard, almost gained the summit of the ridge. They were finally repulsed and forced to retreat towards the rough ground near the Emmettsburg road, from which Sickles had been driven.

The lack of concert in the attack on Cemetery Hill by Ewell's troops prevented success, and at ten o'clock at night, when all fight-

ing ceased, the enemy had been repulsed at every point and the positions of the two armies were substantially the same as before the battle, which stretched forty thousand men dead and wounded on the earth.

While this terrible struggle was going on, Stuart was riding with



O. O. HOWARD

all haste from Carlisle to Gettysburg. Kilpatrick hurried to Heidlersburg, hoping to get ahead of him, but he was too late. His men and horses were so worn out that a halt was made near this village, the advance being resumed the next afternoon, with the view of covering the right of the Union army, as General Pleasonton had ordered Kilpatrick to do.

The Cavalry

The route of the Union cavalry was the same as Stuart's, but the Confederate leader left Hampton and his brigade near Hunterstown to prevent Kilpatrick falling upon Ewell's rear. A brisk encounter

took place between Kilpatrick and Hampton, and the latter, having delayed the Union advance, rode on after Stuart.

Kilpatrick pushed ahead, reaching Two Taverns before daylight. From that point he took position on the extreme left, vacated by Buford, who encamped that night at Taneytown.

III

THE THIRD DAY

The Council of War

At the close of the bloody day, General Meade summoned his corps commanders to headquarters, that he might learn from each the condition of his command, and to counsel as to the decisive conflict on the morrow. There were present at this conference, besides the commanding general, Generals Slocum, Sedgwick, Howard, Hancock, Newton, Sykes, Birney, A. S. Williams, Gibbon, and Butterfield, who appeared in the capacity of chief-of-staff.

The opinion of the council was unanimous that the Federals should maintain their lines as then held, and that they should await the movements of the enemy to see whether he made any further assault, before the Union forces assumed the offensive. General Meade agreed with this opinion, and was convinced that the attack would be renewed by Lee next day. The fullest preparations were made for the battle.

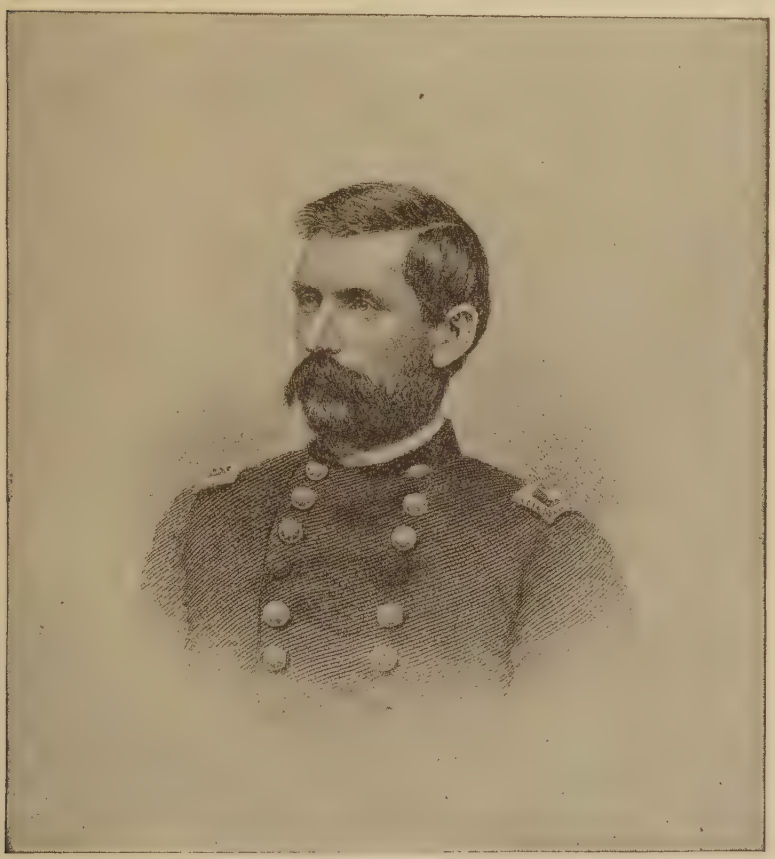
Lee, it is said, notified Ewell that hostilities would begin on the right at daybreak; but Longstreet, who had charge there, did not receive such notification until morning, and has since strenuously denied that there was any "sunrise order," as his Southern critics maintain. Longstreet further insists that in this battle Lee lost the "matchless equipoise" which distinguished him elsewhere, and that the battle as fought by him was a blunder. The controversy will probably never be definitely settled.

The Confederate Preparations

Ewell made all his preparations for an aggressive movement on the left. A brigade from Early's division was sent to reenforce Johnson, while Rodes' old brigade and Daniels' were also despatched to his assistance on the extreme left. When the hour should come, therefore, for launching his forces against the Nationals, Johnson would have seven brigades with which to make the attack effective. The remaining five brigades of the Second Corps were to support Johnson in the event of his turning the Union right.

Away over on the Confederate right, where Lee meant the battle to open, no similar preparations were made. Longstreet had not received any word from his chief, who, he presumed, would notify him whenever the time came to do so.

Pickett made a forced march from Chambersburg and bivouacked



J. GIBBON

at night of the 2d some distance from the field of battle. He received no word from Longstreet, and it was not until seven o'clock the next morning that he presented himself before him, with the announcement that the head of his column was approaching. It was about this time that Longstreet received orders from Lee for the attack entrusted to him.

To make the assault as directed, it was necessary to reenforce the two divisions there. They had been roughly handled the preceding day. This was not done, and Lee pointed out the heights attacked by Anderson on the evening of the 2d as the best point for breaking the Union line.

A Delay

The hours were passing, and Ewell wondered at the cause of the delay. He urged Johnson to attack as soon as the three brigades reached him. There was no need to advise this, for the Unionists only awaited daylight in order to attack him. They could not consent that he should stay in the intrenchments, of which he had taken possession the night before. He was too close to the Baltimore turnpike.

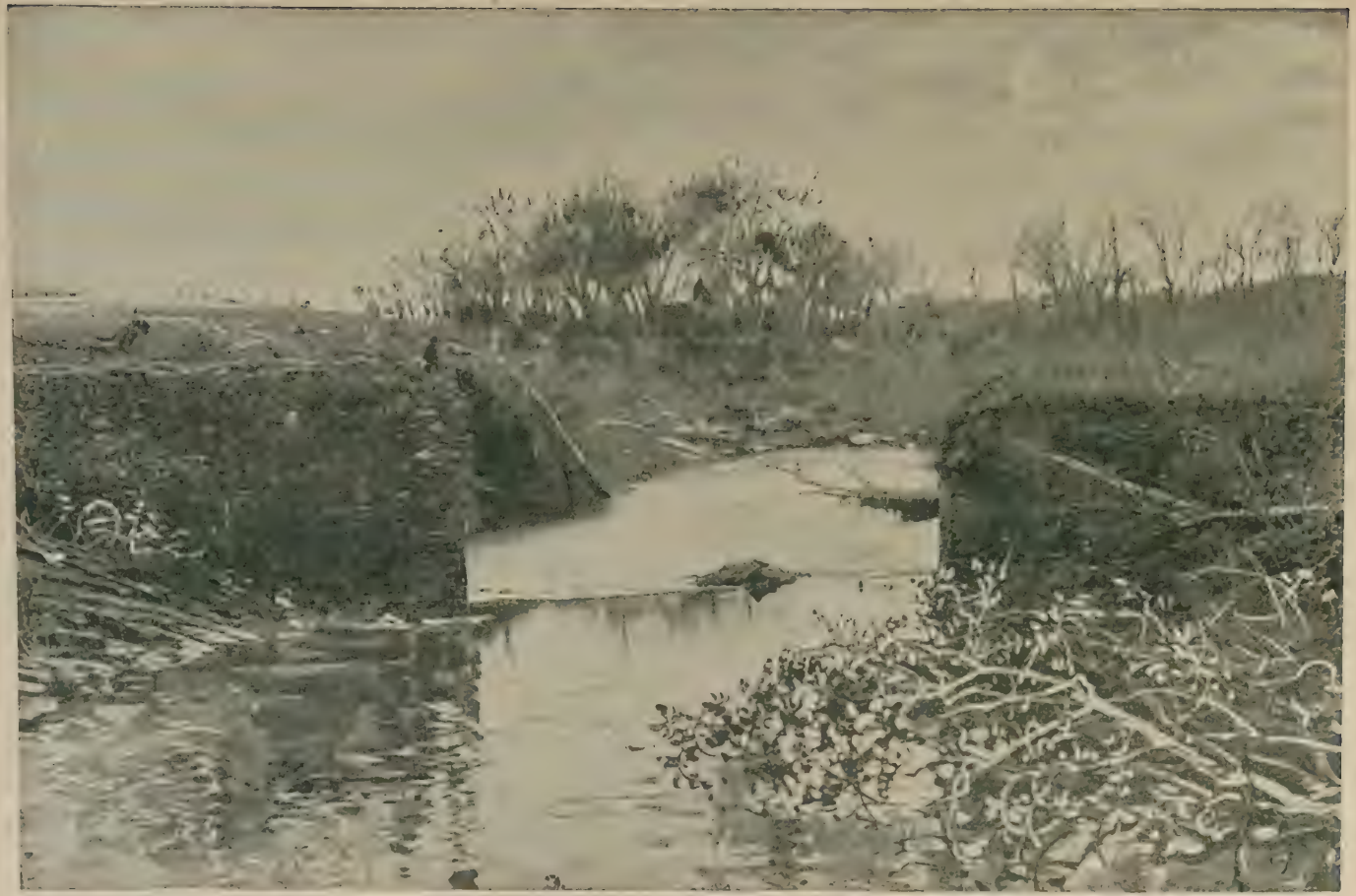
General Slocum, commanding the right wing, left the Twelfth Corps with Williams, who planted his artillery so as to sweep the front of the wooded plateau held by Johnson. The Confederate left was threatened by Ruger's division, and Geary with his left struck that part of the intrenchments occupied by the enemy.

It took but a quarter of an hour for the Union artillery to knock these to fragments. Halting then for the infantry to advance, they were anticipated by Johnson, who assaulted in three lines and with the utmost vigor. The fighting which followed was not surpassed in desperation by any that took place on the field of Gettysburg. All of Meade's reserve converged their fire upon the slopes where the assailants were forcing their way, while Sedgwick made ready to help if the enemy obtained a foothold in the open space to the right of Geary. The latter was hard pressed, but at the right moment received reenforcements which Meade continued hurrying to the points where they were most needed.

The Pressure upon Johnson

At intervals there came a lull in the infernal din, during which Johnson's straining ears listened for the sound of Longstreet's guns on the right. Had the attack been made by him, as was the intention, it would have relieved the terrific pressure upon Johnson. The necessity of reenforcing the Union left would have so decreased the Federals in front of Johnson that probably he would have carried the day.

But the anxiously expected sounds did not reach Johnson, who was fighting the battle alone. The struggle was kept up for over three hours, when the Confederates made a last desperate charge upon Geary's right with the hope of reaching the Baltimore pike. They



RUINS OF THE STONE BRIDGE ON THE WARRENTON TURNPIKE. (FROM A WAR DEPARTMENT PHOTOGRAPH)

were driven tumultuously out of the intrenchments on the slopes of Culp's Hill and back to the left of Rock Creek. They left, in addition to the many killed and wounded, five hundred prisoners and three stands of colors in the hands of the Federals.

The flaming sun climbed towards the zenith, and its fierce rays beat down upon a hundred and fifty thousand men crouching in eager expectancy. In the wheat-field, among the rocks, in the highways, on the open plain—everywhere lay the dead and dying. Friend and foe, side by side, with their glassy eyes staring at the blue sky, and the dusty ground steaming with their blood. Others, mangled and torn, shrieked for water or for some one to shoot and relieve them from their agony. The scene was awful, but the end was not yet.

An Impressive Scene

The two armies confronting each other seemed to hesitate to open the struggle, which could not end except with the overthrow of one of them. The battle was waged by Lee in the same disjointed manner that he had shown before. While Johnson was fighting with so much useless bravery on the left, the chief was engaged in assigning the troops for the attack on the right, whose precise character was not yet decided. Longstreet urged Lee to make a flank movement against Meade's left, but the chief would not consent, and Pickett's fresh troops remained for hours with arms at rest, awaiting orders Johnson's attack was almost over when Pickett took position near the orchard, just to the rear of the Emmettsburg road.

About eleven o'clock there was a brisk exchange of shots between the skirmishers of the two armies, in which the artillery took part, but it accomplished nothing and soon ceased. At the same time the Union cavalry appeared in the rear of Hood's division, and made an effort to reach the Emmettsburg road. This brought about some savage fighting between the cavalry on both sides, in which Farnsworth was killed and his three regiments cut to pieces. But, though the losses were heavy, an important advantage was gained by the Federals, who thus drew away two brigades from Longstreet and so weakened his right that he dared not attempt a diversion at the moment it should have been made.

Pickett to make the Charge

Having decided that Pickett should make the decisive charge, Lee asked Hill for the troops with which to sustain him. Six brigades were placed so as to support him on the left and were to attack the Union positions simultaneously, while Wilcox and his brigade, in order to cover his right flank, was to advance at the same time. All

the troops of the Third Corps that were to take part in the attack were placed under Longstreet's command.

At last everything was in readiness. A cannonade was to precede the assault, and Colonel Alexander was stationed to watch the effect of the cannonade and to notify Pickett when the moment for making the charge arrived. Longstreet was strongly opposed to the attack, and told Alexander not to give the order to Pickett unless the Unionists were driven from their positions or were demoralized to that extent that the assault promised to succeed.

Alexander naturally shrank from assuming this fearful responsibility which his chief sought to place upon him. He had no ammunition to spare, and would not open with the artillery unless the attack was decided upon. Forced to declare his intentions, Longstreet ordered Colonel Walton to give the signal.

The Signal

It was one o'clock when the Washington Artillery on the right fired a single cannon-shot. One minute later another followed. The rings of smoke were slowly curling upward in the pulsating air, when the whole Confederate front burst into flame, and the mountains and valleys shook beneath the thunder of one hundred and thirty-eight cannon. Seventy-five of these belonged to the First Corps and sixty-three to the Third Corps, all at a distance of about three-fourths of a mile from the Union army.

The latter had spent the hours in rectifying their line under the immediate eye of Meade. The general disposition was not changed, but the threatened points had been strengthened and the artillery was divided into three groups. McGilvery was on the left, with forty-four pieces placed on the prolongation of the slopes of Little Round Top. Hazzard, resting on Ziegler's Grove, had thirty pieces; while Osborne, to the right on Cemetery Hill, had some fifty pieces, the major portion of which, however, did not command that part of the line chiefly threatened, and five reserve batteries awaited the call to take the place of those that might need relief.

Confederate Artillery Work

The Confederates improved on their range of the day before, and, discharging simultaneous volleys from their batteries, did terrible execution. The shells burst among the reserve batteries, supply-trains, and ambulances. Butterfield, the chief-of-staff, was wounded, and Meade's headquarters was pierced by hundreds of bullets.

"This may not look dignified, gentlemen," said the chief, as he

and his staff were forced to make a hurried change of base, "but unquestionably it is the best thing to do."

In accordance with Hunt's orders, the Union batteries waited a quarter of an hour before replying, with a view of determining upon which points to concentrate their fire. When the answer came, it

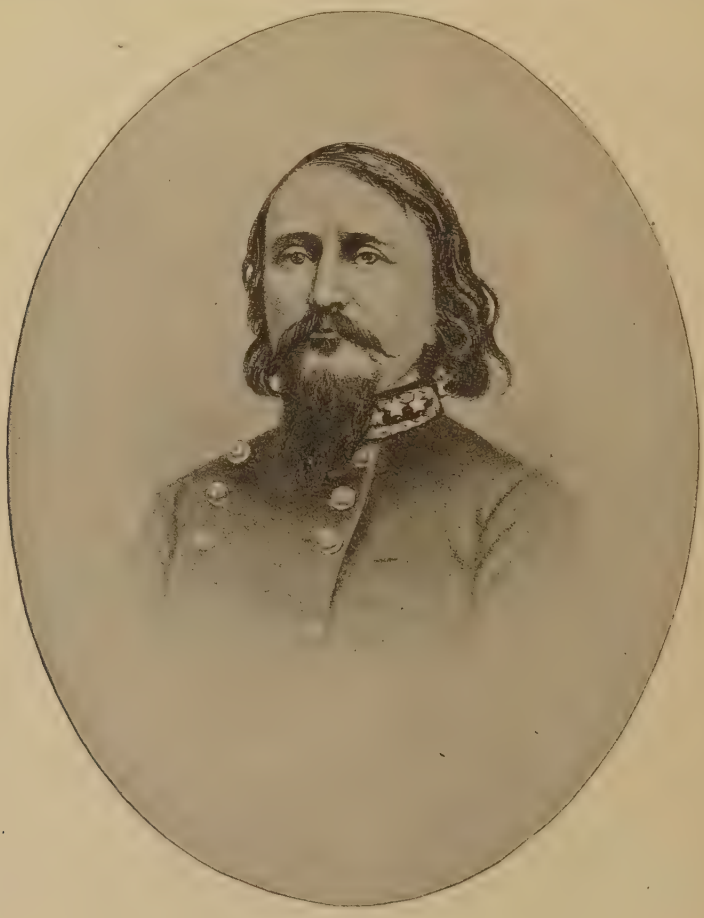
HENRY T. HUNT

was from eighty cannon. The hills and valleys of Gettysburg shook under the most prodigious cannonade that the American continent had ever known. The Union artillerists were so exposed that most of their guns were dismounted, and the reserve was sent to their relief. The Confederates who were advancing upon Gettysburg so as to take Cemetery Hill by enfilade had their guns silenced. The assault was directed against the salient point held by Hancock; but, instead of concentrating their fire upon that position, it was distributed along the line—a strange error which astonished the

A Prodigious Cannonade

Union artillerists, but which, as was afterwards explained, was due to the interference of the commanders of army corps and divisions.

The return fire of the Federals was effective, and Longstreet's



G. E. PICKETT

The Union Return Fire

artillery suffered; but the presence of himself and Lee among the batteries added to the courage of their men. The tremendous bombardment continued, but still the signal for the advance of Pickett was delayed.

At two o'clock Alexander sent word to Pickett that if he intended to attack, the moment had come, for the Union fire could not be

silenced. Pickett called upon Longstreet for orders, but the latter hesitated, distressed between his own convictions and the command of his chief. Pickett finally remarked that he meant to put his troops in motion. Longstreet merely nodded his head, and Pickett hurried away.

C. M. WILCOX

He had hardly reached his division, when a messenger arrived in haste from Alexander, telling him that the Union guns had ceased firing, probably from the lack of ammunition, and that it would not do for him to wait any longer. Thereupon, Pickett decided to give the signal for the assault.

It was a grievous mistake on the part of the Confederates to believe that the fire of the Union artillery had been silenced. Convinced that enough ammunition had been used, and anxious to hasten the attack of the enemy, Meade, about a quarter-past two o'clock, ordered the firing to cease. Hunt, who was watching the battlefield from another point, gave a similar order at the same time, and sent forward two fresh batteries from the reserve in the rear of Hancock.

With the precision of parade, Pickett's division now moves forward in three lines upon its great charge against the Union intrenchments. It leaves several hundred dead upon the ground as its lines re-form, and others are so prostrated by the excessive heat that they cannot rise to their feet. But that magnificent division numbers nearly five thousand veterans, whose superiors did not live. As the Union army catches sight of the line, nearly three miles in length, an involuntary murmur of admiration is heard among those who are only waiting until they come within range to mow them down.

Pickett's Charge

Garnett, in the centre, passes through the artillery line, leaving Wilcox with his men lying on the ground behind, awaiting another order to support the attack. Kemper is on the right, and Armistead

advances at the double-quick to put himself on the left, in line with the other two brigades, while large numbers of skirmishers cover the front of the division. The auxiliary forces of Pettigrew, Trimble, and Wilcox increase the number of assailants to nearly fourteen thousand, and these, if concentrated against any single point of the Union line, can hardly fail to break it.

Pickett's Aim

Pickett is aiming for the salient position held by Hancock, and after passing beyond Wilcox, his brigades make a half-wheel to the left. Just then McGilvery opens with his forty cannon upon Pickett, but Hazzard, with almost as many pieces, has fired so fast that he has only canister left, and he is compelled to wait until the assailants come within shorter range. Had Hazzard followed the orders of Hunt, and discharged his guns less frequently, he would now be able to add a fire to that of McGilvery which would sweep Pickett's division from the earth.

But the silence of Hazzard encourages Pickett, who crosses a number of fields, and, reaching the foot of Cemetery Hill, halts to rectify his line. The Confederate artillery does what it can to support him, but its ammunition is running low, and it has to be sparing in its use.

The most serious danger, however, which threatens this splendid force is that the same disjointure of orders which imperilled many important movements of the Confederates attaches to the directions regarding its support. Pettigrew had moved at the same time on the left, but, being in the rear of Pickett, he finds himself left behind by him, especially as his advance is less elastic and prompt. The four

A Disjointure of Orders

brigades of Archer, Pettigrew, Davis, and Brockenbrough are deployed to the left in a single line. As a consequence, the alignment is seriously broken. The left falls behind, while the right, spurred by the two brigades of Trimble, strive hard to join Pickett. The latter depends upon Wilcox to cover his right during the attack, but Hill prefers to keep him out of battle until the main charge shall prove successful. In obedience to an order from Pickett, who halts near the Codori house, Wilcox advances his brigade in a column of deployed battalions, but is so far behind that he cannot overtake Pickett, and, losing sight of him in the smoke, he fails to cover the flank.

Without waiting for his echélons to get into perfect line, Pickett brings his skirmishers back and resumes his advance. The Union artillery and infantry, posted along the ridge against which he is ad-

PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG.

vancing, open a murderous fire of canister and musketry, while McGilvery takes his line in flank.

The slaughter is awful. Men are mowed down by scores, but those that are not struck instantly close up the gaps and push on with the same admirable even step. Again, scores and hundreds are torn to fragments by the fearful missiles, and the hot plain is covered with the dead and dying; but it looks as if, should the slaughter continue until there is but a single soldier left, he will not stop his grim march towards the flaming intrenchments.

Pickett finds himself left alone with his three brigades, for Pettigrew on the left drifts farther away, while Wilcox on his right disappears in the smoke that rolls in that direction.

On the Double Quick

Does Pickett hesitate and turn back? No; with the old ringing battle-cry, his gray-coats break into the double-quick. There are thousands of Unionists who believe that nothing can stop those men from swarming over the intrenchments and opening the way to the triumph of the legions whose leaders and soldiers are watching them.

A crash of musketry breaks out along the front of Gibbon's division, and scores of Confederates continue to fall. Garnett, who forgets his illness of body in the thrill of the charge, is a little ahead of the others with his brigade, and sinks to the earth, riddled with bullets from the Union line, hardly a hundred yards away. When he falls, his men waver for a moment; but Kemper, just behind, runs to his help with his brigade, and all open upon the Federals. The latter are so well protected by the rocks that the Confederate fire does little damage.

If the assailants stand where they are but a brief while longer, they will be shot down—every one of them. Their only hope seems to be to turn and flee, and even then they must run a gauntlet of shot and shell that will stretch most of them upon the earth. But they do not dream of turning back or standing still. They are brave enough to charge a mountain wall. Waiting only for Armistead to get into line, their yells ring out again, and they sweep up the acclivity like a cyclone.

Pickett's Reception

Pickett's right being unsupported by Wilcox, his flank is exposed to the fire of the Unionists in the wood, which reaches beyond the line. Hancock, seeing his chance, quickly forms the men in position, and they pour volleys into two regiments from Armistead's right, which kills nearly all of them. The remainder of the brigade

rushes to the rear of Pickett's centre, which verges towards Hays for a brief time in order to assail the Federals at close quarters. Armistead has forced his men to the front, between Kemper and Garnett, and, with an impetuosity beyond description, hurls himself against the Union line. The shock is terrific and the first line is pierced; but the Federals fall back upon the second near their guns, which open with canister, while Hancock and Gibbon throw forward all the

CUSHING'S LAST SHOT

reserves. Webb on the left is outflanked, but, by half-wheeling to the rear, he assails the flank of Pickett. Harrow pushes on with his left, and nearly succeeds in taking the line of the assailants in reverse, while the Federals on the right and left rush to the endangered points. They become mixed in inextricable confusion, and the commanders can give them no orders.

A Ferocious Struggle

But they need none. They are four ranks deep and are fighting in the delirium of desperation. Nothing can surpass the ferocity of the struggle. Armistead, waving his hat aloft on the point of his sword, and followed by one hundred and fifty men, runs for a clump

of trees which has been fixed upon as the objective point. Near them Cushing has placed his guns so as to sweep the whole plateau, and the aim of Armistead and his little band is to capture the battery.

Like a monstrous wedge they drive themselves through the wall of struggling men, many of whom are fighting with clubbed muskets, sweep beyond the earthworks, and, despite every effort of the Unionists, reach the guns which have stopped firing, since the combatants are so intertwined that the shots would be as fatal to friends as foes. Cushing is waiting for his adversary, and at the same moment the two go down, wounded to the death, in the tempest of balls.

The Supreme Struggle

The dying Armistead, lying by the clump of trees, marks the farthest point reached by the Southern Confederacy in its supreme struggle for existence. The world never saw grander heroism than was displayed by the Southerners in that wonderful charge which never should have been made, and by the Union defenders who rolled it tumultuously back.

HIGH TIDE AT GETTYSBURG

A cloud possessed the hollow field,
The gathering battle's smoky shield;
    Athwart the gloom the lightning flashed,
    And through the cloud some horsemen dashed
And from the heights the thunder pealed.

Then, at the brief command of Lee,
Moved out that matchless infantry,
    With Pickett leading grandly down,
    To rush against the roaring crown
Of those dread heights of destiny.

Far heard above the angry guns,
A cry across the tumult runs:
    The voice that rang through Shiloh's woods,
    And Chickamauga's solitudes:
The fierce South cheering on her sons.

Ah, how the withering tempest blew
Against the front of Pettigrew!
    A khamsin wind that scorched and singed,
    Like that infernal flame that fringed
The British squares at Waterloo!

A thousand fell where Kemper led;
A thousand died where Garnett bled;
    In blinding flame and strangling smoke,
    The remnant through the batteries broke,
And crossed the works with Armistead.

"Once more in Glory's van with me!"
Virginia cries to Tennessee:
"We two together, come what may,
Shall stand upon those works to-day!"
The reddest day in history.

Brave Tennessee! Reckless the way,
Virginia heard her comrade say:
"Close round this rent and riddled rag!"
What time she set her battle-flag
Amid the guns of Doubleday.

But who shall break the guards that wait
Before the awful face of fate?
The tattered standards of the South
Were shrivelled at the cannon's mouth,
And all her hopes were desolate.

In vain the Tennesseean set
His breast against the bayonet;
In vain Virginia charged and raged,
A tigress in her wrath uncaged,
Till all the hill was red and wet!

Above the bayonets mixed and crossed
Men saw a gray, gigantic ghost
Receding through the battle cloud,
And heard across the tempest loud
The death-cry of a nation lost!

The brave went down! Without disgrace
They leaped to ruin's red embrace;
They only heard fame's thunder wake,
And saw the dazzling sunburst break
In smiles on glory's bloody face!

They fell who lifted up a hand,
And bade the sun in heaven to stand;
They smote and fell who set the bars
Against the progress of the stars,
And stayed the march of Motherland!

They stood who saw the future come
On through the fight's delirium;
They smote and stood who held the hope
Of nations on that slippery slope,
Amid the cheers of Christendom!

God lives! He forged the iron will,
That clutched and held that trembling hill!
God lives and reigns! He built and lent
The heights for Freedom's battlement,
Where floats her flag in triumph still!

Fold up the banners! Smelt the guns!
Love rules. Her gentler purpose runs.
A mighty mother turns in tears
The pages of her battle years,
Lamenting all her fallen sons!

WILL H. THOMPSON

The charge of Pickett has failed. Wilcox had moved in great haste to cover his right flank, but was prevented by the nature of the ground from reaching him in time. Pettigrew was equally vigorous on the left, but his brigade and that of Archer could not effect a breach. Trimble supported them with vigor, and, in the brief but furious struggle which followed, had his foot shattered by a shot.

Failure of Pickett's Charge

The moment a retrograde movement by the Confederates began, a fire was concentrated which threw them into disorder. The four brigades of the Third Corps, thus driven back, left fifteen stands of arms and two thousand prisoners in the hands of the Unionists.

Pickett was still fighting with Gibbons, and received the fragments of Archer's and Scales' brigades; but Pickett now found himself in the midst of the Union lines, without supports or reserves, and with most of his division killed. Out of forty-eight hundred which followed him in that charge, only one-fourth remained. Twelve stands of colors were lost, and thirty-five hundred men were sacrificed. Pickett and one lieutenant-colonel were the only ones out of eighteen field-officers and four generals that were not wounded. The survivors ran by the shortest route across the valley, heading northward not far from where Lee stood watching the battle. Many, knowing that they could not escape, threw down their arms and surrendered.

At the moment of the most desperate fighting, Hancock was badly wounded, but continued to direct the fight until the victory was assured. Then he sent Major Mitchell with the glad news to his chief. "Tell General Meade," said he, "that the troops under my command have repulsed the assault of the enemy, who are now flying in all directions." "Tell General Hancock," said Meade in reply, "that I regret exceedingly that he is wounded, and I thank him for our country and myself for the service he has rendered to-day."

Wounding of Hancock

General Armistead, still alive, was tenderly borne to the rear. On the way he was met by Captain Bingham of Hancock's staff, who, dismounting, asked him whether he could do anything for him. Armistead thanked him, and requested him to take his watch and

spurs to General Hancock and ask him to send them to his relatives. This was done.

The great charge by Pickett was over so soon that the re-enforcements intended for him had no time to cover his retreat. There were troops waiting to renew the attack, but Longstreet, who saw that it would only result in a useless sacrifice of life, forbade. As the bleeding survivors staggered back to the lines, General Lee, his heart oppressed with sorrow, rode among them, speaking encouraging words, and taking upon himself the whole blame of the disaster.*

After the Charge

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* As bearing upon this great battle, the following communication of T. M. Cook, in the *New York Sun*, is of historical interest:

"I spent an entire evening with General Lee, in the latter part of April, 1865, at his residence in Richmond, and discussed with him all the topics of then immediate interest. I took no notes at the time, though it was understood that the substance of the interview was to be printed. When I left him it was with the understanding that what I should write would be submitted to him for approval before publication. The next evening I had the interview written out and read it to the General. He approved everything I had written, but excepted to the publication of two points. On these points he said I had accurately reported him, but the publication of one of the statements as his utterance would, in his judgment, present him to the public as an egotist, or as assuming an authority or influence which, while as a matter of fact he might possess, it would be indelicate for him to assert; the second seemed to him to criticise or reflect upon those who had been his superiors, which it was manifestly, he thought, improper for him to do.

The Gettysburg Movement Opposed by Lee

General Lee said the Gettysburg movement was undertaken against his most urgent protest. He opposed it purely on military grounds. It was conceived by Mr. Davis, and insisted upon by all in authority and influence in and about Richmond. But General Lee failed to perceive that the prospects of success were sufficiently bright to justify the very great risk incurred. He claimed that he had an army inferior in numbers to that of the Army of the Potomac, and that it was poorly clad and but indifferently equipped. He had no reserves, and in moving North was entering a hostile country, where not only no recruits were to be had, but where every man would be a foe. Even should he succeed in forcing his way into Pennsylvania, his army would be constantly dwindling by sickness and desertions, while his enemy, being in his own country, and in its most populous regions, would increase in strength daily, and it would be only a question of time when the invader would be overwhelmed.

Against these considerations was urged the destitution of the South, and the absolute necessity of foraging upon the North for the means of continuing the struggle. The rich Cumberland Valley offered untold spoils of clothing for the men, forage for animals, cattle, sheep, and grain for food for both the army and citizens of the South, and money to replenish the empty treasury of the Confederacy. Even though no battle was won, the tribute that might be levied on the country—the spoils of war to be obtained—would amply repay the movement.

General Lee was opposed to a campaign merely for spoils and plunder, but was compelled to yield to higher authority, which he did reluctantly. He insisted, in the interview, that the disastrous results of the movement justified his reluctance to undertake it. But when I submitted the statement to him for approval, he objected to its publication on the ground that it would be a criticism upon those who had been his superiors. The for-

WOUNDING OF GENERAL HANCOCK

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FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY J. STEEPLE DAVIS

Fearful that the Unionists would follow up the repulse by a general attack, Longstreet devoted his energy to making hasty preparations against that danger. The artillery kept up a brave fight, with a view of concealing its weakness, and the combatants that could be rallied were ranged near the guns.

Mutual Preparations

But the attack was not made. General Meade galloped hastily from the left to the point where the repulse had taken place, followed by the batteries of the Third Corps. Believing that Lee had not risked all on the single attack, he, too, gave every energy to preparing for another assault. The wounded were carried off and the ranks

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tunes of war had compelled him to return in defeat, and he preferred to bear the blame himself rather than place it on others' shoulders.

On my second visit to the General, when he saw the accuracy and fidelity with which I had reported him, and my willingness to respect his confidence and print nothing to which he objected, he became more confidential, and conversed freely with me on various topics connected with the war. Of this conversation I have no notes; but I distinctly recall one point in connection with the battle of Gettysburg which has historical interest.

The chief feature of the third day's struggle at Gettysburg was the ever-memorable and most heroic charge of Pickett's division against the centre and most invulnerable point of the Union line. This has been generally looked upon as a *dernier ressort* on the part of Lee, and criticised as a foolhardy movement. General Longstreet, to whose corps Pickett's division belonged, is commonly represented as opposing it, and it is told in most of the accounts of the affair that when the moment for Pickett to advance arrived, Longstreet turned his back and refused to give him the immediate order to march. Both Longstreet and other Southern writers, as well as most of those of the North, have united in heaping severe criticism upon Lee for that bloody, hopeless, and disastrous affair. The papers, both North and South, had teemed with these criticisms long before I saw General Lee, and he, therefore, thoroughly understood the tone of public sentiment on that matter. What he had to say about it was therefore of interest.

Lee's Magnanimity

The General was not at all disposed to shirk the responsibility for the movement. He distinctly admitted that he had conceived and ordered it. Pickett's division was composed entirely of fresh troops. Not a man of them had been engaged in the fighting of the previous two days. Lee did not consider that Longstreet's assaults on the left of the Union line on the previous day had been disastrous. He had not accomplished all that had been desired and intended, but Lee conceived that he had inflicted a mortal blow upon the Union army, which had only to be vigorously followed up to result in victory. He was persuaded in his own mind that Pickett's fresh troops could easily penetrate Meade's centre, cutting the Army of the Potomac in two and insuring its defeat. He ordered the movement in good faith, looking for and expecting satisfactory results. That Pickett did actually penetrate the Union centre General Lee looked upon as confirmation of his judgment in ordering the assault. Had the orders for Pickett's support, which he had issued, been as faithfully carried into execution as was the main charge, he thought the result might have been materially different.

The main point in all this is its portrait of Lee's magnanimity. While he insisted that the movement was a genuine hostile act, not a mere *dernier ressort*, he was quite willing to shoulder all the responsibility for it, and refrained entirely from criticising or even answering those who had so severely criticised him. He seemed to be fully content with the impression, well founded or not, that history would justify the act which led to such a fearful sacrifice of life in what was proven to be a hopeless undertaking.

re-formed; the combatants that seemed inextricably mixed up were separated into their proper commands, and Newton was given charge of the First, Second, and Third corps, in place of the wounded Hancock.

Clearly seeing the disorganization of the Confederate centre, Meade was sanguine that Hood and McLaws could be overwhelmed; but the risk was too great to be assumed.

All Risked and All Lost

The Union army outnumbered that of the enemy, and was in fine condition. It had fought with unsurpassable heroism and was ready to deliver more crushing blows, but it had suffered appalling losses and had beaten back the hosts that had striven with a bravery and desperation beyond praise. It was they that had risked and lost all.

The brave Reynolds was killed; Hancock, Gibbons, Sickles, and Butterfield were wounded; and the majority of the general officers declared that the best-directed attack must fail. Before advancing against the enemy, General Meade very properly ordered Sykes to push a reconnaissance on the left. The result was not satisfactory, although some sharp fighting took place; and night being at hand, no demonstration was made by either army.

During the great battle, an important cavalry fight took place east of Gettysburg and south of the York road. Stuart, expecting that General Lee would gain a great victory, had made ready to take advantage of it. He had been ordered by his chief to move around the Union right, so as to strike the enemy's column in flank in case they fell back towards Westminster.

A Cavalry Fight

In order to make this movement a success, it was necessary to conceal it from the Union cavalry; but Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee imprudently allowed their forces to be seen by Custer. The fight which followed endangered Stuart's flank and compelled him to stop his advance. The conflict was severe, amounting to over seven hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners on the part of the Nationals.

The result, however, was of the highest advantage to the latter, for it so delayed Stuart's movement against the rear of the Union army that it was defeated altogether.

The supreme effort of the Army of Northern Virginia under its leader had been made and had failed. The first and only great offensive movement on the part of Lee had resulted in defeat. The battle could not be renewed, and all that was left for the exhausted soldiers was to take up their wearisome retreat to Virginia.

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

Accordingly, Ewell was called back from his positions in Gettysburg, and before morning his three divisions were north of the seminary on the Cashtown road. Longstreet also withdrew to the rear of the orchard and the Emmettsburg road, and when the sun rose on our national anniversary day, the whole Confederate army was posted from north to south along the ridge of Seminary Hill, their positions strengthened by the intrenchments hastily thrown up.

JOHN SEDGWICK

The night had been a busy one with the Union army. The regiments were re-formed, the positions rectified, and the wounded looked after. Then the wearied soldiers slept, with the dead and dying all around them, awaiting what the morrow might bring forth. Daylight showed the concentration of the enemy on Seminary Ridge. Thereupon Slocum, on the right, advanced to the York road; Sedgwick, on the left, occupied the battlefield of the 2d; while Howard, with a part of the Eleventh, entered Gettysburg.

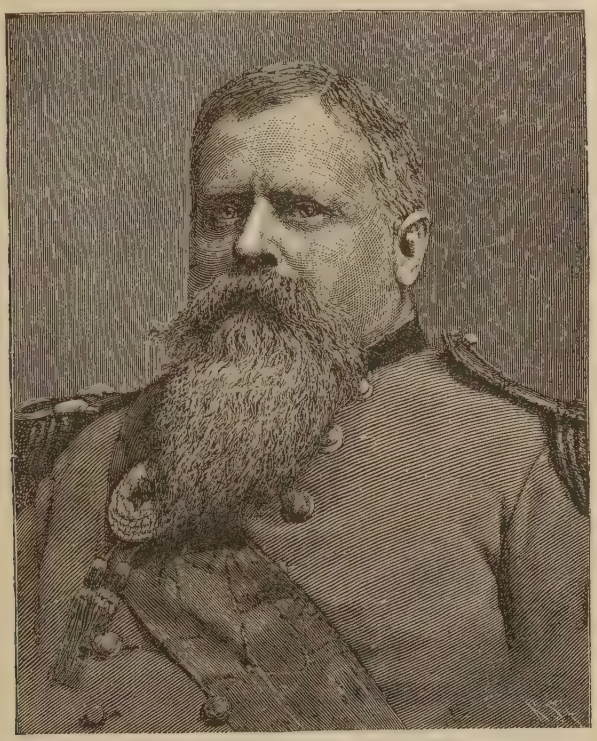
The cavalry pushed forward to feel the enemy. This was done with care, proving that there was no more hope of success in attacking Lee in his intrenched position than there was when Lee so desperately assailed Malvern Hill.

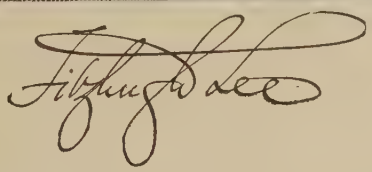
Waiting and Watching

It was seen also that Lee was preparing for some important movement. What it was could not be known for hours, so Meade waited and watched. At noon the rain began falling in torrents, as it generally does after a great battle. The roads were so flooded that it was almost impossible to manœuvre with the artillery, and the scant supplies of food for the Union soldiers ill fitted them for any vigorous demonstration.

But the drenching rain was an advantage to Lee, for it gave him the opportunity to complete his preparations for retreat, which

was ordered to begin at sunset. The trains, loaded with booty and supplies at Cashtown, were directed towards Chambersburg. They crossed the South Mountain chain by the Fairfield route, Hill at the head, Longstreet next, with Ewell bringing up the rear. Imboden





was given the difficult task of escorting through the country the column with its ten thousand beasts of burden and fully fifteen miles in length. With his strong force of infantry and cavalry, he conducted them successfully by way of Chambersburg and Hagerstown to the Potomac, which was crossed on a bridge of boats, and thence to Winchester. Through the storm and darkness the defeated army dragged its way, hundreds dying in the wagons into which they had been

A Dismal Retreat

crowded, others falling helpless by the wayside—the whole a picture of desolation, suffering, and anguish which it is to be hoped this country may never know again.

General Meade called another council of war, while the enemy was on the retreat. At this council the startling truth came out that the seven army corps, which numbered 86,000 men under arms a few days before the battle, had an effective force of only 51,514 men on the morning of the 4th of July. Out of the 38,000 men thus lacking, 15,000 were stragglers, who would eventually rejoin their commands, but not soon enough to take part in any of the operations of the next few days.

JOHN B. GORDON

To this council Meade submitted the question whether the Union army should stay at Gettysburg, or, without awaiting the movement of Lee, attempt on the morrow a manœuvre on his flank or attack his front; and in case of his retreat, should he be directly followed, or should the Federals try to reach Williamsport in advance of him by way of the Emmettsburg road? Opinions on these questions were so divided that Meade decided to wait twenty-four hours longer, and, if the enemy retreated, to follow him on his flank by way of Emmettsburg.

No Pursuit

Before the twenty-four hours had expired, it was discovered that Lee had vanished, and the battle of Gettysburg was history.*

* General Gordon, in his graphic lecture, "The Last Days of the Confederacy," relates many characteristic anecdotes of the closing years of the conflict. Who can read the following without a thrill, and who can restrain his admiration for the part played by one of the bravest soldiers of the Lost Cause?

"On the afternoon of the first day's fight at Gettysburg, I was riding through a clover field, when I came upon a Union major-general, shot through the body and limbs, with evidently but a few minutes to live. I dismounted, gave him a drink from my flask,

The greater part of the 4th of July was spent by Lee in burying the dead and in sending the wounded to the rear. That night the different corps began their retreat, and by daylight were beyond sight

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

of the Unionists. General Sedgwick, with the Sixth Corps, was sent in pursuit and overtook the rear guard of the enemy on the evening

and asked if I could do anything for him. He asked me to bear his dying message to his wife, who was with the army. I assured him that if I survived the battle I would do so. The broiling sun was beating upon the dying officer's face. I called a litter and had him removed to the shade of some trees, and bidding him good-by, went into the battle. At the close of the day's fighting I sent a flag of truce into the Union lines, with a message to Mrs. Francis C. Barlow that her husband was desperately wounded—I could not tell her what I believed was the truth, that he was dead—and that I would give her safe conduct into our lines to visit him. She eagerly seized the opportunity, and was soon at his side. Well, the war went on. Without the remotest thought on my part that such a thing was possible, General Barlow fully recovered. He read of the death of General J. B. Gordon (a North Carolina officer who was killed), and had no doubt that it was I. Years after the close of the war, at a dinner in Washington, these two dead men, Barlow and I, met without either suspecting the identity of the other. When explanations had been exchanged, and we realized that neither of us was dead, the scene was beyond my power of description." The friendship between these two veterans was unbroken until the death of General Barlow, January 11, 1896.

A Chivalric Act

FIRE ZOUAVE MONUMENT

This monument was erected by the volunteer firemen of the city of New York (organized 1658, disbanded 1865) and their friends in grateful recognition of the services rendered by the Second Fire Zouaves at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863, when they met the advance of the enemy from the Emmetsburg road. The base of the monument is seven feet by six, and is constructed of granite, and the tablets of bronze. The figure is seven feet and a half in height, and the total height of the monument is fifteen feet. The movement for its erection was begun in June, 1895, and the legislature has authorized its construction. The photograph of this monument was kindly furnished to the Publishers by Messrs. Hoffman and Procházka, New York.

of the 6th. The position was too strong to be attacked, and the main portion of the Union army marched to Middletown, Md., by a route parallel with that of the enemy. A part of the Confederate army moved through Fairfield, and the remainder by way of Castletown, escorted by General Imboden. They were much harassed

FRANCIS C. BARLOW

while passing through the mountains by the Union cavalry, yet most of them succeeded in reaching Williamsport. There they were attacked, but General Imboden repelled the assault. The Union army crossed South Mountain on the 9th, and General Meade established his headquarters at Antietam Bridge.

Lee in Peril

The Confederate army by this time was at Hagerstown, where it had arrived by the morning of the 7th. General Lee was still in great peril, for a violent rainstorm, three days before, had so swollen the Potomac that it was impassable. Two of the bridges had been

swept away; a pontoon-bridge was burned by the Union cavalry, and Harper's Ferry was re-occupied by General French. The defeated army was obliged to wait at Williamsport until some means of crossing the river could be found. Well aware of the alertness of the Union commander, General Lee fortified his position as strongly as possible, and began building boats so as to restore the pontoon bridge.

General Meade was only two miles off, but he agreed with the views of his lieutenants who opposed an attack until the arrival of reenforcements. There was some expectation that Lee, finding himself compelled to turn at bay, would assail the Federals with the same vehemence as at Gettysburg, and with the same crushing defeat as a result. But Lee had no such intention, and quietly waited for the waters to subside. The crossing of the Potomac began on the 13th, discovering which the Union cavalry dashed at the Confederate rear guard, which was guarding the approaches to the bridge. Four guns, eight battle-flags, and a number of prisoners were captured, but early in the afternoon the Army of Northern Virginia stood once more on the soil of the Old Dominion.

Back in Virginia

General Lee halted on the 15th between Martinsburg and Winchester, and remained in camp for several days. A cavalry reconnaissance was pushed forward by Gregg from Harper's Ferry, which coming up with the enemy at Charlestown and Shepherdstown, a battle of considerable magnitude followed without decisive results.

The Army of the Potomac followed the cavalry a few days later, crossing the Potomac at Berlin and moving up the Loudon valley while Lee was retiring along the valley of the Shenandoah. He had not forgotten to guard the northern passes through the Blue Ridge, and having crossed the Shenandoah with most of his army, he headed towards Chester Gap, with a view of entering the valley of the Rapidan. General French, learning that a Confederate detachment was crossing the Shenandoah, on the 23d vigorously followed, but the enemy continued falling back, and got away before they could be forced to battle.

Movements of the Union Army

Thus closed the second Confederate invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

It was a season, however, favorable for military movements, and the war for the Union, as has been shown, was pressed with great vigor in other parts of the country. Vast campaigns were planned, and mighty battles fought in the Southwest.

CONFEDERATE MONUMENT AND CEMETERY, RICHMOND, VA.

Amid the shock of arms, Lee could not remain idle. During the autumn of 1863, General Meade was encamped in and around Culpeper, offering, as the Confederate commander conceived, a favorable opportunity for attacking his right flank, so as to cut off communication with his base at Alexandria.

The army of the Potomac had been considerably reduced by the dispatch of Hooker's corps to Chattanooga, and the departure of several regiments to New York to help enforce the conscription act.

Lee's army had also been weakened by the divisions sent to General Bragg, and by the granting of a large number of furloughs, the relative strength of the two armies being about the same. But in one respect Meade was at a greater disadvantage than before. He was among a bitterly hostile population, which needed hardly less attention than the armed forces in the field. He found it necessary to require the oath of allegiance from all the residents between the Potomac and the Rappahannock, under penalty of arrest.

Meade's Disadvantage

General Lee crossed the Rapidan on the 9th of October, and marched on Madison Court House. The Union advance guards were attacked the next day near James City and compelled to retreat.

Meade was too prudent to risk a general action, and withdrew towards Alexandria, having first destroyed or removed his exposed depots. Brisk skirmishes took place between Ewell and A. P. Hill and the rear guard of the Union army, which reached the farther side of Bull Run, and fortifying began.

Lee in turn dared not risk an attack, and could do nothing but retrace his steps, for the section which he had entered had been trampled back and forth so many times by the contending armies that it was desert, and the Confederate army was too far from its stores to transport the necessary supplies. The railway from Cub Run southward to the Rappahannock was destroyed, and the army returned to the line of the river, Stuart guarding the rear with his cavalry. Lee took position on the Rappahannock, posting his forces on both sides of the Orange and Alexandria Railway.

Imboden's Operations

General Imboden performed some brilliant operations west of the Blue Ridge. He was sent to secure the passes into the Shenandoah Valley, and captured a Union regiment at Charleston, near Harper's Ferry. This took place on the 18th of October. The Federals marched from Harper's Ferry to attack him, but he rapidly retreated,

taking with him considerable captured property and prisoners, among whom were several commissioned officers.

Yielding to the impatience of the North, Meade crossed the Rapidan, Nov. 26th and again entered the region known as the Wilderness. Continuous rain stopped his advance, and after reconnoitering the Confederate position at Mine Run, he decided not to risk an assault. On Dec. 1st, he began withdrawing across the Rapidan, and the next morning the Union army was back within its former lines.

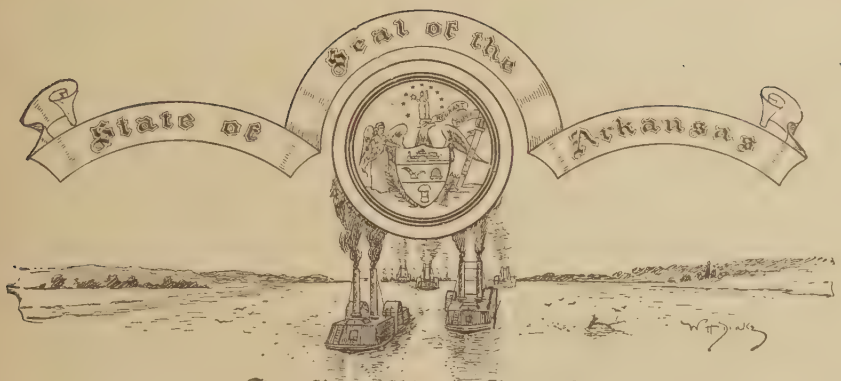
Union Losses at Gettysburg

The total Union losses at Gettysburg, compiled from complete official returns of every Federal command engaged (Vol. 27, Government publication), was 23,049 men killed, wounded, and missing. No similar official report of the Confederate casualties is in existence, and the question, therefore, has never been satisfactorily answered. Surgeon L. Guild, Gen. Lee's medical director, in an admittedly incomplete report, names 2,683 killed and 13,369 wounded, the total being 16,052, with no record of the missing, many of whom are known to have been killed or wounded. Following Dr. Guild's compilation is a second summary of Confederate losses, also deficient in some respects, which gives the killed as 2,592; wounded, 12,709; missing, 5,150; total, 20,451.

Estimated Southern Losses

Leslie J. Perry, in a carefully prepared article in the N. Y. *Sun* of October 1, 1899, gives the Confederate killed as 3,803; wounded, 18,741, and missing, 5,195. Mr. Perry accounts for Dr. Guild's shortage by the fact that he took no account of the killed and wounded abandoned to the enemy on the third day after Pickett's and Johnson's charges. Mr. Perry adds that the official returns of the strength of the Army of Northern Virginia, on May 31, 1863, was 77,931 men for duty, and this he says was increased during June to nearly 85,000 men, so that Lee marshalled at least 80,000 men at Gettysburg. "His army was composed of nine divisions of infantry and artillery; eight of these averaged 8,000 effectives each. Gen. Hood after the war said his division was 8,000 strong. An official return of Rodes's division at Carlisle, after it had participated in the valley operations before advancing into Pennsylvania, disclosed an effective strength of 8,052 only two days previous to the opening of the battle. Pickett's division was about 5,500 strong, some of the troops being absent. Here, on a fair estimate, we have 69,500 infantry and artillery. The cavalry force approximated 11,000 effectives, less losses in the movements. All told, 80,500 men of all arms."

AN ALEXANDRIA ANTE-BELLUM RELIC



The Red River Campaign.

CHAPTER LXXII

EVENTS OF 1864

In the East

[*Authorities:* Probably one of the best illustrations of the value of special knowledge among the events of the Civil War is found in this chapter. The Réd River expedition s hopelessly stranded on account of the fall of the water in the river, and its capture by he Confederates seems unavoidable. In this emergency a lumberman from Wisconsin comes forwards with a simple device that rescues the entire fleet of Union gunboats, and enables it to pass the shallows below. The incident reminds one of the triumph of the engineer who baffled for so long the attack of the Romans under Marcellus, during the siege of Syracuse. The incident suggests the inquiry whether the Government has remembered and rewarded a man whose genius extricated so many lives and so much valuable property from a critical situation. Special reference for this chapter is made to Greeley's "American Conflict," and the leading histories of the Civil War.]

Birthplace of General Grant

A STUDY of the events of the preceding year shows that the cause of the Union had made decisive progress. In the West, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas had been secured and were immovably held, the scene of war having been pushed to their southern border. The Mississippi was opened, and the Confederacy split apart, each part now being compelled to do its own fighting, while the Federal Government could readily send troops to either section.

The war had brought the real leaders to the front. Grant, Thomas, Sherman, Sheridan, and others cared nothing for politics, or anything except the prosecution of the war and the restoration of the Union. Lee was still powerful and defiant in the East, but his army could never recover from the blow received at Gettysburg, which, as

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

has been shown, was the turning-point of the war. As one of the Confederate generals expressed it, the South henceforward fought only for terms. Their leaders saw at the close of July 3, 1863, that the doom of the Confederacy was sealed. Surrender might be deferred, but, sooner or later, it must come, for the verdict was "writ in the book of fate." This was so evident, that in August President Lincoln proclaimed a day of thanksgiving, while President Davis named one of fasting and prayer.

Hard Times in the Confederacy

There was widespread distress in the Confederacy. All able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five were ordered into the army, though not a few managed to evade military service. The women and children had mainly to look after themselves, while the soldiers were poorly fed and clothed. The vast cattle ranges beyond the Mississippi were shut off by the opening of that river, as were the grain-fields of Virginia and Tennessee, the sugar plantations of Louisiana, and the salt and fish from the coast. Millions of dollars' worth of cotton in the interior was held there by the rigidity of the blockade. The railway tracks were rapidly wearing out, and could not be renewed. The Confederate paper money was fast following the course of the Continental issue during the Revolution. Butter was from $5 to $10 a pound; beef, $2 a pound; coffee, $10 a pound; corn and potatoes, $15 a bushel, with a rapid "upward tendency." Twenty-five dollars in paper money was worth a dollar in gold, but the owner of the gold preferred not to make the exchange even at that figure. In some places, iron nails and other articles served for money.*

Good Times in the North

It was very different in the North and West. Money, food, and clothing were abundant, and though taxes were high, they were easily paid. The paper money decreased in value, reaching its lowest point in July, when a paper dollar was worth about thirty-five cents in gold, but wages increased to an extent that equalized the difference.

The army was well clothed, armed, and fed. Sanitary commissions and other associations to look after the comfort of the soldiers in the field were popular, and the fairs held for the purpose of raising

* A Confederate cavalryman rode into camp on a confiscated Union horse. "I'll give you three thousand dollars for him," said a comrade, with wistful eyes. "Three thousand dollars!" repeated the other, scornfully; "I've just paid a thousand to have him curried."—*General Gordon.*

money brought millions of dollars. A Confederate officer captured in 1863, and taken North, told the writer that he never despaired of the success of the South until he was given this chance of contrasting its poverty and exhaustion with the prosperity and strength of the North.

The Military Situation

The military situation at the opening of 1864 was this: There were two powerful Confederate armies east of the Mississippi. Lee with about sixty-two thousand men held the Rapidan River near Fredericksburg, while Johnston with seventy-five thousand was at Dalton in Georgia. The position of the latter was strong, for it was almost surrounded by high mountains.

Our Government decided at the opening of the year to push two decisive campaigns against the South at the points named. All the other operations were to contribute to these. The estimates were based on an army organization of a million men, and an advance was to be made "all along the line."

Many of the early movements are worthy of note. General Sherman left Vicksburg early in February, and, marching to Jackson, burned what was left of the pretty town. He laid waste the country remorselessly, and liberated nearly ten thousand negroes. Sherman was a man who never had any patience with secession, and believed in making war as terrible as possible. Pushing on to Meridian, he devoted himself to destroying railways. To prevent the rails being straightened and used again, he had them heated, and then twisted. That spoiled them beyond repair. Determined to prevent the sending of grain from Mississippi to the Confederate armies, he utterly ruined one hundred and fifty miles of tracks, sixty-seven bridges, twenty locomotives, two million bushels of corn, and thousands of bales of cotton. Grimly surveying the stupendous work, he pronounced it the most complete destruction of the kind that he had ever seen. A cavalry force that moved down the Ohio and Mobile Railway to join him was defeated by General Forrest at Okolona, and retreated to Vicksburg, to which point Sherman also returned.

Sherman's Work of Destruction

The Union plan of campaign provided that Admiral Farragut should attack Mobile while the army was on its way to that point, and that General Thomas should threaten Johnston and prevent his sending any reenforcements to the endangered points. The defeat of the cavalry force disarranged this plan, and the Confederates took the offensive.

Forrest with a strong force entered Western Tennessee and Kentucky. He captured Jackson, March 23d, Union City on the 24th, and Paducah two days later. Reaching Fort Pillow, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, April 12th, he made a demand for its surrender. Being refused, he stormed the works. Most of the garrison were negro troops, against whom the captors felt so incensed that they shot them down without mercy.

Banks' Expedition

General Banks, commanding at New Orleans, had received orders to invade the interior of Louisiana, with the object of capturing Shreveport, three hundred and fifty miles above New Orleans, the seat of the Confederate government of the State, where an immense amount of cotton was stored.*

The army was to advance in three columns, and to be supported by Admiral Porter with a flotilla which intended to force its way up Red River. The first division, numbering ten thousand men under Gen. A. J. Smith, was to advance from Vicksburg; the second was to be led by General Banks from New Orleans, and the third by General Steele from Little Rock, who in addition to ten thousand infantry had twenty-five hundred cavalry.

Gen. Kirby Smith, Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi department, could not gather a force strong enough to stop this formidable army, but he ordered Gen. Dick Taylor to block, so far as he could, the channel of the Red River. He also sent General Price to harass the column advancing from Arkansas, while Smith himself strove to delay and annoy the invaders.

The Naval Squadron

The Mississippi naval squadron under Porter consisted of some fifteen gunboats, ironclads, and monitors, and about thirty transports. Some fifty miles above the junction of the Red River with the Mississippi stood Fort de Russy, which was hastily strengthened. It was carried by assault, March 13th, and two days later the fleet joined the forces of Franklin at Alexandria. On the last day of the month the cavalry of the Union army occupied Natchitoches, the leading column reaching Mansfield on the 8th, previous to which Admiral Porter arrived at Grand Echore, on the Red River.

General Taylor fell back before this superior force. Detachments

* The capture of the cotton was the real object of the expedition, which was a gigantic speculation, and it has been asserted that more than one prominent Confederate was involved in the "deal." General Dick Taylor, son of President Taylor, and brother-in-law of Jefferson Davis, however, would not be a party to the scheme, and persisted in spoiling it.

of Texan cavalry joined him at intervals, and there was almost incessant skirmishing with the Union cavalry. Taylor's orders were to retreat to Shreveport, where Price's infantry awaited him, but

N. P. BANKS

Taylor determined to give the invaders battle, just south of the town of Mansfield.

The Union Forces Routed

It was on the 8th of April, while the Union army was straggling forward in loose order, heavily encumbered by its enormous amount of baggage, and with no thought of danger, that it was impetuously assailed by the Texan cavalry. The Federals were routed. The panic continued until the Nineteenth Corps made a stand, and under their protection Banks retreated to his old camping-ground on

Pleasant Hill. Then, finding his forces badly broken, he pressed on to Grand Echore under cover of the gunboats.

A New Danger

It soon became manifest that the fleet was in a worse plight than the army. Admiral Porter had gone some miles farther up the river, but the shores were lined with sharpshooters, and he had to sweep the banks with grape-shot before he could advance. One boat was blown up by a torpedo, and the Confederates captured two of the transports. It was the news of Banks' defeat which caused Porter to return to Grand Echore.

All this time the river was falling, and there was danger of the fleet being caught in shallow water. Banks therefore began his retreat to Alexandria on the 23d of April, reaching that point four days later, closely pressed by the Confederates all the way. The tired and disheartened foot-soldiers now began their dismal march down the river. They had to wade through swamps and bayous, from which the fire of the sharpshooters was incessant, while swarms of mosquitoes pestered them day and night.

Hindered by snags and bars, the naval forces worked their way down-stream with exasperating slowness. Reaching Alexandria at last, the fear of Porter was realized. The water was so low above the falls that not a single boat could pass. Failure seemed certain, and failure meant the loss of the entire Mississippi squadron and an indefinite prolongation of the war. Unless the fleet could pass the rapids it would have to be destroyed or surrendered to the enemy, for the army, already on short rations, could not remain to defend it.

An Ingenious Scheme

It was at this crisis that the genius of Colonel Joseph Bailey showed itself. He and his assistant, Lieutenant-Colonel Uri B. Pearsall, had been lumbermen and dam-builders in the forests of Wisconsin before the war, and the two agreed that a series of dams could be built across the rapids that would deepen the channel and relieve the fleet. The rapids were a mile and a quarter in length, making a gradual descent of between eight and nine feet, the width of the river being seven hundred and fifty-eight feet, and the depth of the water from four to six feet. The current ran at the rate of ten miles an hour.

The West Point engineers of the army ridiculed the plan, but work was begun at once, for the river was falling all the time, and now that it was the 1st of May every day meant vast additional labor. Four large coal barges were towed to a ledge of rock in the

RED RIVER EXPEDITION

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FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY WARREN SHEPPARD

middle of the river and sunk. They were placed lengthwise with the current, two and two, with a channel of forty feet between them, and secured to the yielding soapstone bed of the river with long bars of iron, sharpened and driven through their bottom like huge spikes. They were then filled with such heavy material as could be secured. They were meant to serve as abutments for the dam to be built out to them from either side of the river. This would obstruct and deepen the current, through which the ironclads and transports were to sweep into the deep water below.

Building of the Dam

Under Colonel Bailey's supervision, a dam was built from the north bank, formed of large trees, brush, brick, and stone, cross-tied with other heavy timber, and strengthened in every way that ingenuity could devise. The task of filling the barges and projecting an obstruction from the south bank was assigned to Colonel Pearsall. His plan was to make the dam of a series of log cribs built above, and floated down to the place, and there weighted with brick, stone, and iron. The sugar mills in the neighborhood were demolished for this purpose, and the heavy débris carried by hundreds of soldiers and flung into the river. The two working forces consisted of 6,000 men, which relieved each other every six hours, toiling day and night.

"Trees were falling with great rapidity," says Admiral Porter; "teams were moving in all directions bringing in brick and stone; quarries were opened; flatboats were built to bring stone down from above, and every man seemed to be working with a vigor I have seldom seen equalled, while perhaps not one in fifty believed in the success of the undertaking."

Finally, on Sunday, May 8th, the dam was completed. But the very next day it broke.

Admiral Porter's Account

"Seeing this unfortunate accident" (the break in the dam), says Admiral Porter, "I jumped on a horse and rode up to where the upper vessels were anchored, and ordered the *Lexington* to pass the upper falls if possible, and immediately attempt to go through the dam. I thought I might be able to save the four vessels below, not knowing whether the persons employed on the work would ever have the heart to renew their enterprise.

"The *Lexington* succeeded in getting over the upper falls just in time—the water rapidly falling as she was passing over. She then steered directly for the opening in the dam, through which the water was rushing so furiously that it seemed as if nothing but destruction

awaited her. Thousands looked on, anxious for the result. The silence was so great as the *Lexington* approached the dam that a pin might almost be heard to fall. She entered the gap with a full head of steam on, pitched down the roaring torrent, made two or three spasmodic rolls, hung for a moment on the rocks below, was then swept into deep water by the current, and rounded to safely into the bank. Thirty thousand voices rose in one deafening cheer, and universal joy seemed to pervade the face of every man present. The *Neosho* followed next, all her hatches battened down, and every precaution taken against accident. She did not fare as well as the *Lexington,* her pilot having become frightened as he approached the abyss, and stopped her engine, when I particularly ordered a full head of steam to be carried; the result was that for a moment her hull disappeared from sight under the water. Every one thought she was lost. She rose, however, swept along over the rocks with the current, and fortunately escaped with only one hole in her bottom, which was stopped in the course of an hour. The *Hindman* and *Osage* both came through beautifully, without touching a thing; and I thought if I was only fortunate enough to get my large vessels as well over the falls, my fleet once more would do good service on the Mississippi. The accident to the dam, instead of disheartening Colonel Bailey, only induced him to renew his exertions after he had seen the success of getting four vessels through.

Passing the Dam

"The noble-hearted soldiers, seeing their labor of the last eight days swept away in a moment, cheerfully went to work to repair the damages, being confident now that all the gunboats would finally be brought over. These men had been working for eight days and nights, up to their necks in water, in the broiling sun, cutting trees and wheeling bricks, and nothing but good humor prevailed among them.

"On the whole, it was very fortunate the dam was carried away, as the two barges that were swept away from the centre swung around against some rocks on the left, and made a fine cushion for the vessels, and prevented them, as it afterwards appeared, from running upon certain destruction. The force of the water and the current being too great to construct a continuous dam, six hundred feet across the river, in so short a time, Colonel Bailey determined to leave a gap of fifty-five feet in the dam, and build a series of wing dams on the upper falls."

Repairing the Accident

This plan had been already suggested by Colonels Pearsall and George D. Robinson, but had been deemed inadvisable by Colonel Bailey, who hoped to avoid the additional time and labor necessary for the building of two dams if one could be made to serve. It now became evident, however, that the river must be obstructed on the upper falls in order to obtain sufficient depth to relieve the larger ironclads, such as the *Mound City*, the *Chillicothe*, the *Carondelet*, and some five others that were still lying above the rapids.

The New Plan

A series of light wing dams, consisting of log cribs lashed together, that resulted in fourteen inches additional depth of water, were made in less than three days' time. The *Chillicothe* now managed to work her way through, and the *Carondelet* attempted to follow her example. The water in the lower dam, however, had been slowly falling, and as the huge vessel came through she swerved a little from the main channel and grounded in dead water, her stern lying down-stream, and pointing diagonally across the channel. An attempt was made to haul her off with a "Spanish windlass," but was abandoned as unavailing. Admiral Porter, believing there was still sufficient room in the channel for other boats to pass, now gave orders for the *Mound City* to make the attempt. This she did immediately, and grounded abreast of the *Carondelet*. Five more ironclads were still above the falls.

Colonel Bailey's Enthusiasm

At this crisis Colonel Bailey came riding up in hot haste to where Colonel Pearsall was standing. Colonel Bailey was a dark, stern-looking man at all times. His unkempt raven hair and his restless black eyes—wild and bloodshot from nervous tension and loss of sleep—made him now seem almost ferocious. Neither of these officers had slept to exceed thirty hours during the past ten days, and their nerves were greatly overwrought by the strain. It was no time for idle conjectures, and none was offered.

To the abrupt question, "What in the name of God are we going to do now, Colonel?" Colonel Pearsall as abruptly replied:

"Give me what men and material I want, and I will put a foot of water under those boats (the *Mound City* and *Carondelet*) in twenty-four hours."

Colonel Bailey—"You shall have whatever you want. Only tell us what it is, quick."

Colonel Pearsall—"I want the Thirteenth Army Pioneer Corps

to report to me on the left bank at midnight, and ten thousand feet of two-inch plank to be here at nine o'clock to-morrow."

Colonel Bailey at once assented to these requirements, and the orders were promptly given. Immediate steps were taken by Colonel Pearsall to get his men across the river; but it was now dark, and the transports refused to put off boats until morning—for what reason does not appear.

Colonel Pearsall's report briefly narrates this part of the work:

Colonel Pearsall's Report

"It was sunrise before all were across to the opposite side. I immediately instructed the men in building two-legged trestles for a 'bracket dam.' They worked with even greater energy than ever before, and the trestles were all made by 9 A.M. Some pieces of iron bolts (size, one-half inch) were procured, and one set into the foot of the legs of each trestle; also one in the cap pieces at the end resting on the bottom, up-stream. The place selected by me for this 'bracket dam' was at a point opposite the lower end of the *Carondelet*, extending out close to this vessel from the left bank. A party of men (all familiar with logging and dam-building in the Wisconsin woods) selected and headed by myself placed these trestles in position under very adverse circumstances, the water being about four and a half feet deep and very swift, and, coupled with a very slippery bottom, making it almost impossible to stand against the current. Several men were swept away in this duty, but no lives were lost. The trestles were fastened as soon as they were in position by means of taking 'sets' and driving the iron bolts above referred to down into the bottom. All were in position by 10 A.M., and the planks having arrived, all that remained was to place them. This was done in less than an hour, and by 11 A. M. there was at least a foot of water thrown under the *Mound City* and the *Carondelet*, and both vessels floated off easily before the ultimate height of water was obtained. The five remaining vessels passed with but little difficulty, and at noon the following day were safe below the main dam at Alexandria."

All Precautions Taken

The ironclads had been lightened by removing a part of their plating, and the stern of each had been weighted to prevent diving; the hatches had been battened down, and every precaution taken against accident, but the plunge from the lower dam into the water was terrific, and as the ponderous ironclads one after another ran down the incline and plunged into the deep water, they were for some moments

almost entirely submerged—in the case of the *Carondelet* the water actually pouring in at the smoke-stacks. But as each vessel righted and rode out into the calm river below, the thousands cheered, and as the last ironclad passed safely through, and the weary army saw that their work was ended and the fleet saved, there rang out a mighty shout that was a peal of triumph to the Union and a knell to Confederate hopes.

The Fleet Saved

Banks burned Alexandria, and, having made one of the worst failures of the war, continued his retreat, until at last his wearied troops reached New Orleans. General Steele, advancing from Little Rock, arrived at Camden, where he turned back, after learning of Banks' defeat. He was pursued and harassed by Kirby Smith, but reached the capital of the State in safety.

There being no prospect of capturing Charleston, a part of the force besieging the place was sent on an expedition to Florida. They landed at Jacksonville, which the Federals had burned the year before, General Finnegan, the Confederate commander, retreating to Lake City. General Gillmore then returned to Charleston, leaving orders for General Seymour to act only on the defensive; but, with undue confidence, Seymour advanced to Lake City. Fifteen miles from the town he attacked Finnegan, and suffered a disastrous repulse.

Matters went as badly in North Carolina. A part of a Vermont regiment guarding the railway between Newbern and Beaufort was captured by General Pickett, while Plymouth, on the Roanoke, garrisoned by twenty-four hundred Union troops, was taken by a superior force after a hot resistance. While the fight was in progress a Confederate ram passed the fort at the mouth of the river, sunk one of the gunboats, drove off the other, and prevented any reenforcements being sent to the garrison. The Unionists abandoned Washington on the Tar River, in the latter part of April, after burning the town.

Union Reverses

Kirby Smith believed that if he entered Missouri with a large force, a general uprising in his favor would follow. Accordingly, in the latter part of September, he came over from Arkansas, with an army of fifteen thousand men, mostly cavalry.

Rosecrans was now in command of the department of Missouri, and had sent off most of his troops to help Sherman. Foreseeing his danger, he asked his government for reenforcements, and a regi-

ment of veterans was sent to him under General A. J. Smith, while volunteers came from other points. Rosecrans handled these forces with great skill, and did the cause of the Union invaluable service.

Kirby Smith attacked Pilot Knob, September 27th, and was repulsed. Price appeared before Jefferson City, October 7th, but, frightened off by the strength of the intrenchments and the strong force, he retreated towards the west. Pursued and harassed by General Pleasonton and his cavalry, Price turned into Arkansas. On the banks of the Little Osage, October 25th, he was attacked and lost eight guns and a thousand prisoners, including Generals Marmaduke and Cabell. Another attack was made three days later, and the Confederates were routed and driven into Arkansas. Kirby Smith's invasion of the State turned out disastrously, and the truth was established that the power of the Confederacy west of the Mississippi was gone.

Confederates Driven Out of Arkansas

Mention must be made of the numerous raids by both sides during the war. The most daring of the Confederate raiders were Generals John Morgan, J. E. B. Stuart, and John S. Mosby. The last two operated in the East, and the other in the Southwest. Many of their exploits were of so brilliant a nature that they were admired by foes as well as friends. Morgan came to grief in the summer of 1863, when he was reckless enough to invade Indiana and Ohio. He was hard pressed by the Union cavalry, and many of his men were killed and captured. Finally Morgan and a number of his officers were made prisoners near New Lisbon, Ohio. They were confined in the Ohio Penitentiary, but with the aid of friends Morgan and six of his officers made their escape, November 27th.

While the siege of Vicksburg was in progress, Colonel B. H. Grierson gave great help to Grant by making a raid in the rear of the city. He destroyed the Confederate lines of communication, and checked the sending of reenforcements to Pemberton. With three regiments, Colonel Grierson left La Grange, near the southern border of Tennessee, on the 17th of April, and, crossing the Tallahatchie, rode south to the Macon and Corinth Railroad, which for a space of many miles he completely destroyed. Turning to the southwest, the bridge over Pearl River was seized, and a number of locomotives were destroyed on the Jackson and New Orleans Railroad. He then pushed on to Baton Rouge, which was in the possession of friends.

Grierson's Raid

On this raid, Grierson and his men travelled more than five hundred miles.

Various Union Raids

An important raid was made by General Stoneman, during the operations at Chancellorsville by Hooker. With twenty-three hundred cavalry Stoneman left Falmouth, April 28th. He crossed the Rappahannock at Kelly's Ford, and sent half his force under Averill towards the Orange Railway, a little way above Culpeper, which was then held by Fitzhugh Lee with five hundred men. These were driven across the Rapidan, and they destroyed the bridge behind them to prevent pursuit. Instead of pressing on, Averill turned back and joined Hooker at the United States Ford, in time to retreat with him to the northern side of the Rappahannock.

Stoneman was more daring. Crossing the Rapidan May 1st, he rode to Louisa, on the Virginia Central Railway, fifteen miles east of Gordonsville, where he sent out flying columns in different directions to do the utmost mischief possible. Great damage was done, and at one point Stoneman was within fifteen miles of Richmond, which was terrified, for the people did not know how numerous was the body of cavalry. The latter were in great peril, but by hard riding returned to their own lines in safety. There were many other raids, but rarely did any of them produce a perceptible effect on the campaigns under way.

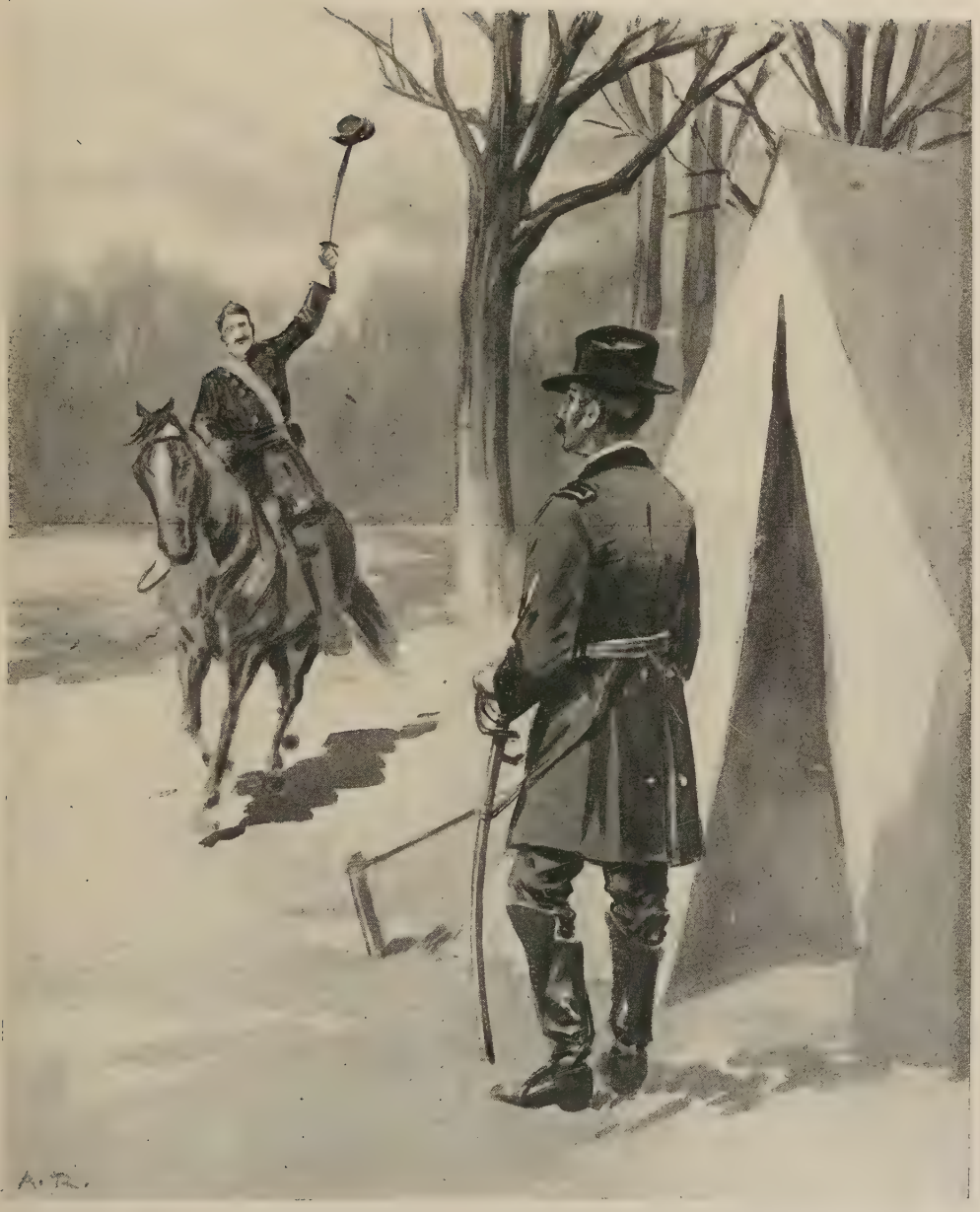
Grant and Sherman agreed that they would begin the grand advance on the same day, May 5th, and that would keep their opponents so busy, that neither Lee nor Johnston would be able to send help to the other, as they had been in the habit of doing. The fighting having begun, the two Confederate armies were to be given no time for rest.

The demand for recruits became so urgent through the North that large bounties were offered to every re-enlisting volunteer and to each new recruit. The effect of this was not satisfactory, and on the 1st of February, President Lincoln ordered a draft for five hundred thousand men to serve for three years.

Grant Appointed Lieutenant-General

On the 29th of February, Congress revived in the army the grade of Lieutenant-General, which had been discontinued since the death of Washington, except in the case of General Scott. President Lincoln immediately sent to the Senate, which promptly confirmed, the name of General Grant for that honor.

A few days later, Grant left the department of Tennessee for



ANNOUNCING THE REAPPOINTMENT OF GEN. GRANT TO THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE.

Washington in order formally to be invested with his exalted rank. This took place on the 9th of March, and two days later he was back in Tennessee. On the 12th of March, President Lincoln appointed him to the chief command of all the armies of the United States, in place of General Halleck, relieved at his own request.

Halleck was made Chief of Staff; Sherman was given charge of the military division of the Mississippi, and J. B. McPherson was assigned to the command of the Department and Army of the Tennessee. Grant left Tennessee on the 19th of March for Washington, proceeding thence to the Army of the Potomac, where he made his headquarters.

A Mighty Force

General Grant, on assuming chief command of the armies of the United States, found himself at the head of a mighty force, and provided with immeasurable resources for the prosecution of the war.

On the 1st of May, the available military strength of the Union was 770,000 men, a number that the mind can hardly grasp. General Grant's theory was that active and continuous operations at all seasons and by all the forces that could be placed in the field were necessary for success.

To crush on a vast scale all armed resistance by simultaneous operations, therefore, was the plan of General Grant. He meant to march against Richmond with the armies of the Potomac and of the James River, while Sherman in command of the three armies of the Cumberland, Tennessee, and Ohio was to move upon Atlanta.

The grand advance "all along the line" was to begin May 5th. The Army of the Potomac had been reorganized, and consisted of three instead of five corps, under charge of Hancock, Sedgwick, and Warren, the chief commander continuing to be Meade, under the general directions of Grant.

The Grand Advance

The Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan on the 4th of May, driving in the Confederate pickets, and pushing through the dismal shades of the Wilderness in a southeasterly direction. This army numbered one hundred and forty thousand men, composed mainly of veterans, and led by skilful generals.

General Burnside with the Ninth Corps was left for a while at Warrenton, north of the Rappahannock, to guard the line of communication with Washington. The army of Lee was also divided into three corps commanded by Longstreet, A. P. Hill, and Ewell, and they were posted around Orange Court-House, southwest of

Fredericksburg. Seeing the danger of having his communications with Richmond cut, the Confederate commander advanced the greater part of his army to meet the Unionists, while with the rest he watched the fords of the upper Rapidan against a flank attack on his left.

Indecisive Fighting

Early on the morning of the 5th, Ewell's vanguard collided with the Federals on Wilderness Run. A desperate battle instantly opened and continued all day, with no decisive advantage on either side. When the forces ceased their fierce contest at nightfall they still confronted each other on much the same ground as in the morning. The Confederates had checked the Federals, whose effort to outflank them on the right, and to wedge themselves between them and Richmond, had failed.

On the morning of the 6th the struggle was renewed. The Union army was drawn up across the Orange and Fredericksburg road, Sedgwick with the right covering Germania Ford, Warren with the centre at Wilderness Tavern, while the left under Hancock was posted to the southeast of Chancellorsville. Burnside with the reserve had crossed the Rapidan during the previous night, and was stationed in the rear with orders to support Sedgwick, in the event of his needing it, or to cover the retreat of the army should it be overtaken by disaster.

The Union line of battle through the tangled woods extended about five miles, where it was impossible to use cavalry or to make use of artillery. The battle, therefore, was to be one of hand-to-hand fighting of the fiercest nature.

General Grant was in the rear of the centre, acting in union with General Meade. An advance of the whole line was ordered, and for hours the contest swayed back and forth. The Union left attacked with such furious vigor that the divisions of Wilcox and Heth were driven back tumultuously, and Lee was alarmed by what seemed an impending and overwhelming disaster. General Longstreet's arrival with McLaws' division was all that averted a general rout, and a crushing of the Confederate right wing.

Wounding of Longstreet

The Unionists were forced back with the loss of numerous prisoners, and Grant ordered Burnside with most of his corps to strengthen the line between the left and the centre. It was hardly done, when Lee assailed the Union positions. Longstreet led this attack, but, just as it promised success, he was shot from his horse.

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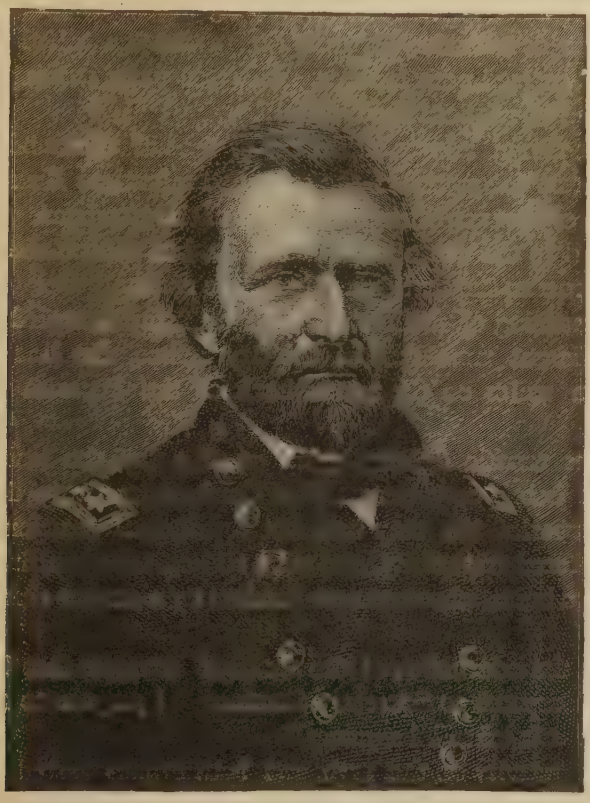
Grant in the Wilderness. May 5. 1864.

As in the case of Stonewall Jackson, he was wounded by his own men, who mistook him and several of his officers for Federals. The volley killed General Jenkins, and a bullet passed through the throat of Longstreet, who for a time was believed to be fatally hurt. The movement that he had begun was only partially successful, and after



GENERAL GRANT

some more furious fighting, the Confederates were repulsed and the Unionists maintained their ground.

A Change of Base

Grant's right was in peril, and that of Lee had not been turned. The Union leader therefore decided to make Fredericksburg his base of operations, letting go of Germania Ford, but holding the other passages of the river. The change was safely made, and on the 8th Lee fell back from the slightly advanced position which he had gained.

Lee now saw that Grant was aiming to seize the important position of Spottsylvania Court-House. General Anderson, commanding Longstreet's corps, had taken possession of the place the previous night, and was holding it when a large body of Union infantry arrived. Lee sent more troops thither, so that at the end of the fighting on the 8th, the Confederates still held the position.

Death of General Sedgwick

Little was done on the 9th, but during the exchange of shots the brave Union commander, General Sedgwick, was killed by a rifle-ball, which entered near his eye. His loss was a national one, and was mourned throughout the North.

But the death of no one officer nor of tens of thousands of brave men could stay the sweep of the grim and relentless Grant, who ordered another advance towards the close of the afternoon. The right wing crossed to the south bank of the Po, but after a sharp engagement withdrew to the northern side of the river.

On the morning of the 10th, the Union army occupied a position slightly different from that of the day before, the line extending a half-dozen miles on the north bank of the Po, with the wings advanced.

There was terrific fighting again on this day, the losses on the Union side being very great. The Confederates were driven into their breastworks, but they held their principal positions. They, too, had suffered frightfully, and were feeling the appalling pressure of the Union hosts, who were now handled by a master that could not be denied.

Grant's Determination

It was at the conclusion of the six days' struggle that Grant sent his famous despatch to Secretary Stanton: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

It rained heavily on the 11th, and both armies rested. Early in the evening, General Hancock moved the Second Corps from the right of the line to the left, and before daylight the next morning was opposite the Confederate right and right centre. The movement was executed with so much secrecy, that the enemy were unaware of their danger until Hancock's men had almost reached the intrenchments.

The Unionists carried the first line of rifle-pits with a hurrah, capturing a whole Confederate division, but were repulsed at the second line. Hancock held the intrenchments he had gained, and carried off some of the captured cannon.

The fighting in other quarters was most desperate, and attended by an appalling loss of life, but no other substantial advantage was gained by the Union army.

Lee withdrew some distance on the 13th, but did not let go of Spottsylvania Court-House. During most of the week that followed, there was no decisive fighting. The rain fell almost continuously, and the ground became a mass of mud and water that rendered manœuvring impossible.

It was during these days of ferocious fighting that the Confederates suffered a loss correspondingly as great as that of General Sedgwick. General Sheridan on the 9th led the Union cavalry against Lee's communications. Riding fast, they crossed the North and South Anna rivers, destroyed a depot of supplies at Hanover Junction, and entered the outer intrenchments around Richmond. There they were met by Stuart and his cavalry, and a brisk fight took place. Stuart, while at the head of his men, was shot from his horse and died that night in Richmond, whither he was taken. His successor was Wade Hampton, a brave and skilful soldier.*

Death of "Jeb" Stuart

The Army of the Potomac still held its positions in front of Lee, but no great progress had been made towards the capture of Richmond. The Army of Northern Virginia was still the lion in the path to the capital of the Southern Confederacy.

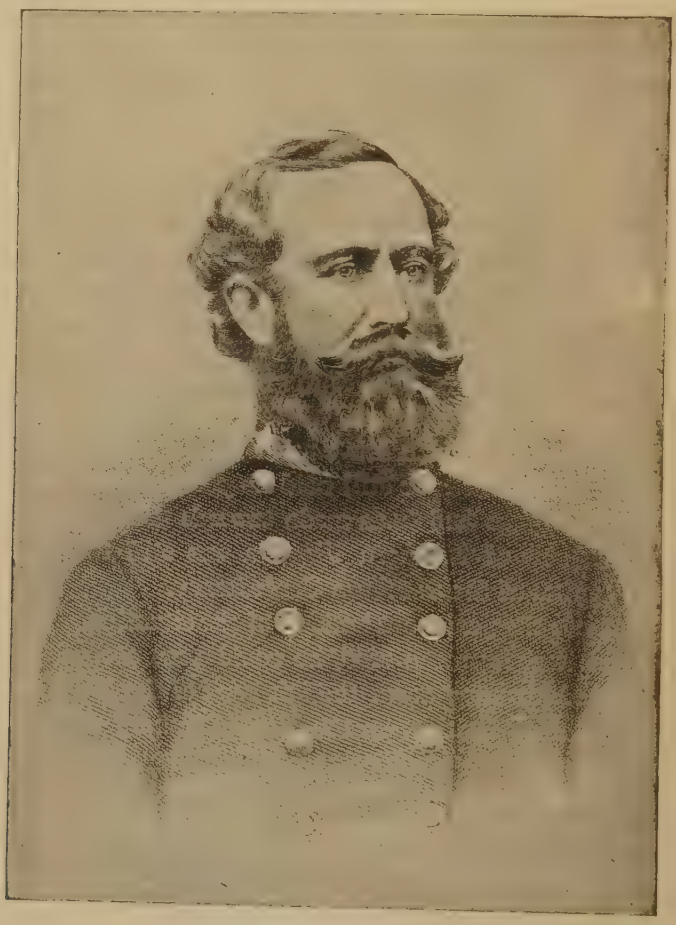
But Grant was the persistent bulldog of the situation. If he could not drive the lion from the road, he could pass around him. He therefore moved his army down the left bank of the Ny River in the direction of Guinea Station, on the Fredericksburg and Richmond Railway. Crossing the river on the 22d of May, he took position between that stream and the North Anna. This placed the Union army nearer Richmond than before, and threatened the right flank of Lee's army.

Grant's Flanking Movements

Fighting took place on the 23d and 24th of May, when the Unionists attempted to cross the North Anna. Several corps established themselves for a time on the southern shore, but Lee prevented a junction of the detachments, and Grant withdrew to the northern shore and proceeded to Hanovertown on the peninsular made by the Mattapony and Pamunkey rivers.

* It is worthy of mention that Wade Hampton was a friend of Washington, and he was a major-general in the Revolution; his son, Wade Hampton, was a major-general in the war of 1812; and *his* son, Wade Hampton, was a lieutenant-general in the service of the Confederacy.

The Army of the Potomac was now on nearly the same ground that McClellan occupied in the spring and summer of 1862. Lee, making a corresponding flank movement, posted his forces to the



WADE HAMPTON

north and northeast of Richmond, where he could effect a junction with Beauregard for the defence of the Confederate capital.

On the 30th of May, Grant learned that Lee was on the Mechanicsville road with his right wing at Shady Grove. The Union right was thereupon extended in the direction of Hanover Court-House, the right centre was posted on the Shady Grove road, the left centre

on the Mechanicsville road, with the left wing a short distance to the rear.

Indecisive fighting marked the next few days. The Army of the Potomac received considerable reenforcements, among them being the Eighteenth Corps under General Smith. These were a part of

SIGNAL TOWER ON THE LINE BEFORE PETERSBURG

General Butler's command, and had embarked on transports at City Point, moving swiftly down the James and then up the York and Pamunkey to the White House.

Grant's Line of Battle

This was on the last day of May, when General Grant established his headquarters five miles southeast of Hanover Court-House. His line of battle extended a distance of six miles across the Tolopotamy Creek, facing west on its right, and southwest on its left.

General Lee covered the Chickahominy with his cavalry supports,

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

thrown out on the left towards Hanover Court-House, and on the right towards Bottom's Bridge. The first day of June opened with sharp fighting for the possession of Cold Harbor, which was finally gained by the Federals.

It will thus be seen that Grant was steadily pushing Lee backwards. The Union leader now resolved to drive him across the Chickahominy, and gain a place where that stream could be forded.

It was intended to open the attack on the evening of the 2d, but the rain fell so violently that it was postponed until the next morning, when the order to advance was given. Hancock's corps assaulted with their usual impetuosity, and drove Breckinridge's line before it; but rallying, Hancock's line was forced back with great loss, and at all other points the Confederates held their ground.

The Union Army Checked

The losses of the Federals were so terrible that the Army of the Potomac faltered, and instead of advancing when it was expected to do so during the afternoon, the men began throwing up intrenchments.

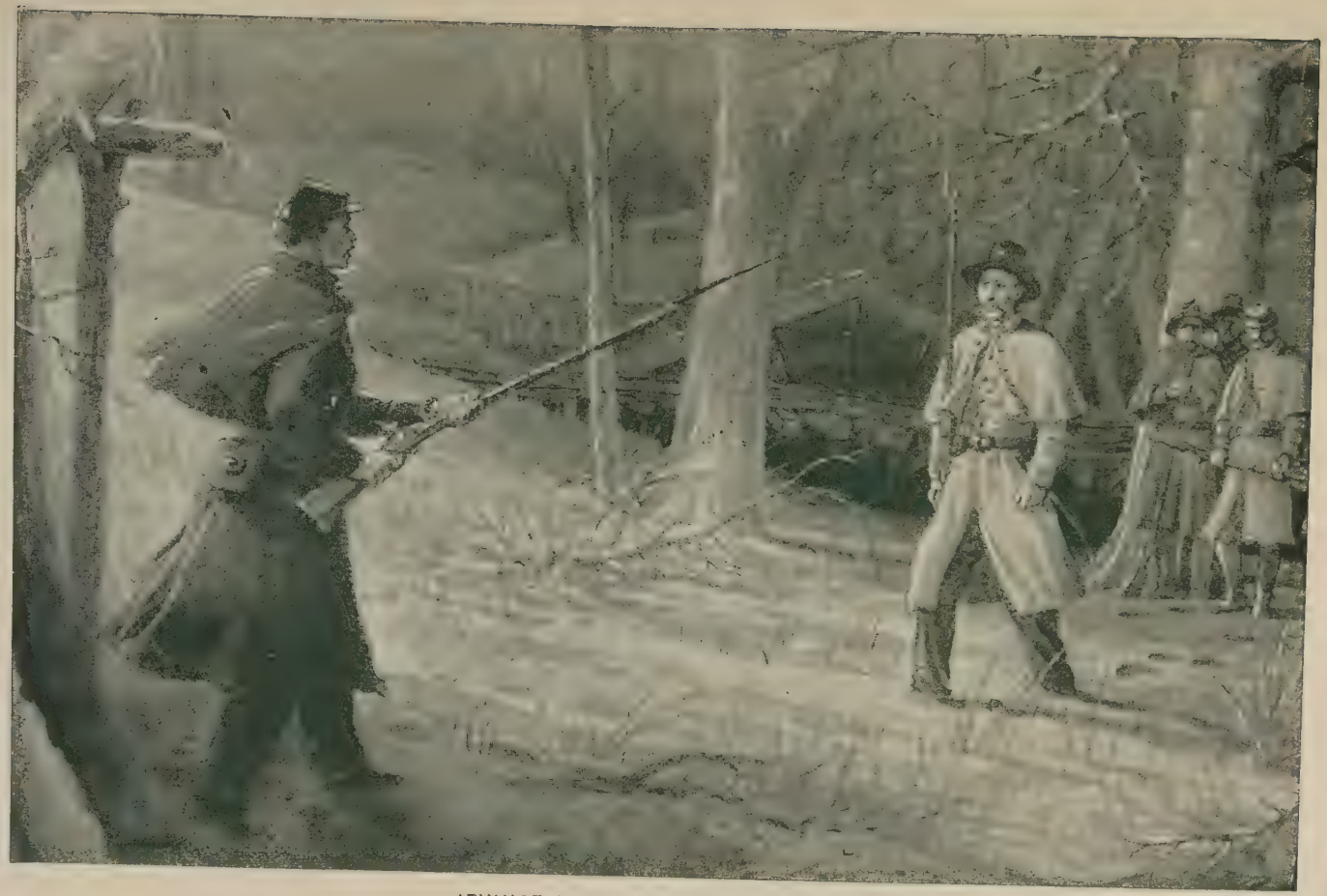
Thus while the Union success had not been what was anticipated, General Lee at the utmost could only hold his own without being able to shake off the grip of his adversary.

Just as night was approaching on the 3d, the Confederates furiously assailed Smith's brigade and Gibbon's division, but after a half-hour's battle, the assailants were repulsed. The same night, Lee drew in his left wing in front of General Burnside, though the two battle lines remained near each other.

It was about this time that General Hunter succeeded Sigel in command of the Army of the Shenandoah, and was ordered to advance up the valley to Lynchburg. Sheridan with two divisions of cavalry was detached from the Army of the Potomac, and ordered to destroy the Virginia Central Railway and effect a junction with Hunter, Butler at the same time being directed to do his utmost to capture Petersburg. This was in pursuance of Grant's plan of isolating Richmond, cutting off its sources of supply and reinforcement, so that he might renew his operations on the south side of the James, that is, in the rear of Richmond.

Operations in the Shenandoah Valley

Hunter's attempt was not successful, and he considered himself fortunate in being able to escape across the mountains into Western Virginia. Sheridan also was repulsed by Wade Hampton and Fitzhugh Lee, who made a futile attempt against the Union depots at



ADVANCE AND GIVE THE COUNTERSIGN

White House. Grant was able to rest his army without fear of molestation, while he completed the preparations for his flank movement to the southern side of the James River.

A detachment from Butler's army, marching south, crossed the Appomatox in the second week in June and moved against Petersburg. At the same time Meade advanced towards his left under a feint of a demonstration against Richmond. The Chickahominy was crossed in the neighborhood of White Oak Swamp, and the James near the mouth of the Deep Bottom. General Butler was at Bermuda Hundred, and beyond his lines were Beauregard's intrenchments. These were abandoned by the Confederates in order to concentrate all their strength in the defence of Petersburg, which was in grave peril.

Petersburg Endangered

The operations against this city were pushed with the same energy that had marked the campaign from the first, while the Confederates showed great bravery in beating back the opposing armies.

Three corps were engaged before the town, while Butler, relieved of the forces in front, moved against the Richmond and Petersburg Railway, so as to shut out any reenforcements from Richmond. The assault continued during the first part of the night, and Beauregard withdrew his forces to a shorter line in the rear. He was reenforced soon after by Longstreet's old corps, now under the command of General Anderson, who had driven General Butler from the line of the railway. Fighting continued during the day, but the Confederates substantially held their position. They strengthened their intrenchments, and on the 18th of June drove back the Unionists with heavy loss. Smith was directed to withdraw from before Petersburg and to rejoin Butler at Bermuda Hundred. A large part of Lee's army had been moved from the northern to the southern side of Richmond, and still defiantly confronted the Army of the Potomac.

Grant saw that it would be unwise to continue his assault, but he clung to that which he had gained and threw up strong counterworks. An attempt to turn the right flank of Lee was defeated, and a cavalry expedition was sent out on the 22d, to cut the communication between Petersburg and Lynchburg by the Southside Railway. The force was divided into two columns, which reached the junction of the Richmond and Danville Railway with that of Petersburg and Lynchburg. They met with a number of successes, but were repulsed on the Weldon Railway, and abandoning their train and

Failure to Turn Lee's Flank

artillery, hastened back to Petersburg, leaving many prisoners behind.

The weather was intolerably hot, and both armies suffered intensely. A long drought set in, and every movement of the troops was accompanied by suffocating clouds of dust. The soldiers were worn out, and despite the hard fighting and the great loss of life, the success was far less than was anticipated.

MAJ.-GEN. DAVID HUNTER

The famous mine was exploded in front of Petersburg on the 30th of July. The charge consisted of four tons of powder, and a cavity was opened nearly two hundred feet long, sixty feet wide, and twenty feet deep.

The assaulting force, instead of charging over this enormous opening, stopped in it and began firing from the edge of the crater. The Confederates, who had fled in dismay from the immediate vicinity, immediately returned, and converged such an awful fire upon the disorganized masses in the excavation that it is said General Mahone was sickened at sight of the slaughter and ordered the firing stopped. The Union loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners was fully 4,000.

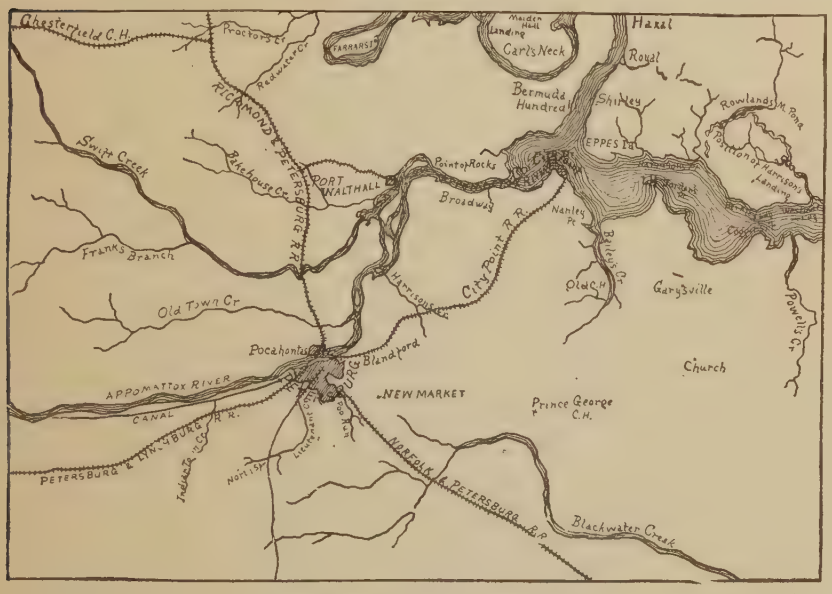
The Mine Explosion

Lee's strongly fortified lines extended between twenty and thirty miles, beginning from near the Weldon Railway on his left, and, crossing the James, terminated close to Newmarket on his right. Numerous attempts were made during the autumn and winter to turn his flanks, but he was too wary to be surprised. His army was composed of veterans tried by the fire of many battles, while the Union forces, although more numerous, contained many new recruits, who lacked the steadiness that comes only by experience.

Sheridan's hurricane operations in the Shenandoah Valley com-

pelled Lee to send some of his divisions to the help of Early, and Grant determined upon another offensive movement. Believing that the approaches to Richmond from the northeastern side of the James were not strongly guarded, he sent Hancock with a powerful force up that stream to Deep Bottom. Lee, however, was able to concentrate enough troops to repel the assault.

In order to do this, the Confederate commander had to draw a



PETERSBURG AND VICINITY

large number of his men from his right flank; aware of which, Grant delivered a blow in that direction. General Warren, with the Fifth Corps, succeeded in occupying a position beyond the Weldon Railway. He was assailed by the Confederates, who drove him back, but Warren was reenforced, recovered his position, and fortified himself against further attack. A Confederate assault on the 21st of August was fruitless, and on the same day Hancock struck the Weldon Railway four miles south of Warren's intrenchments. Four days later, Hancock and A. P. Hill collided, and the latter secured possession of Reams' Station, but the Unionists retained the Weldon Railway and connected it with the centre of the army in front of Petersburg, which was continually shelled by the Unionists. The

Union Successes

Confederate batteries on the James retaliated by firing on the Federal gunboats.

It was now arranged that Meade should make a feint against Lee's right, while Butler with two corps of the Army of the James attacked

E. O. C. ORD

the Confederate works north of Chaffin's Bluff, opposite Drury's Bluff on the James.

An Important Movement

The movement began on the night of September 28th, when General Ord with the Eighteenth Corps was ordered to cross the James at Aikin's Landing, eight miles above Deep Bottom, and at daybreak to march rapidly against the works in front. General Birney was to move simultaneously on Bermuda Hundred, and cross the river during the night. Obtaining possession of the Newmarket road, the two detachments were to form a junction in front of Richmond.

The plan was carried out successfully, and the outer line of the Confederate defences was soon captured; but the attack on the inner line was repulsed, the garrison having been heavily reenforced.

JUBAL A. EARLY

Successful Union Movements

Other portions of the enemy's lines were seized on the 30th of September, and held against a Confederate attempt to capture them the same day. On the 7th of the following month an effort to turn the right flank of the Unionists was partly successful, but in the end the Confederates were repulsed. The fighting which followed for

several succeeding days did not affect the relative position of the forces.

Determined to keep what he had gained, Grant extended his lines from opposite Dutch Gap to the Newmarket road.

Extension of the Union Lines

General Meade executed the important duty assigned him with his usual thoroughness. Moving against the Confederate right, he fought for three days, at the end of which time he acquired a position across the Squirrel road parallel with the Weldon Railway, and the enemy withdrew within his main intrenchments.

These operations were followed by another attempt to take Petersburg. Meade was directed to occupy the Boydton road and the Southside Railway. This was done by Hancock on the 27th of October, the march being made with so much secrecy that it was not discovered by the Confederates. The Second Corps had moved around the enemy's flank, and was proceeding in accordance with orders, when Hancock received word to halt.

Warren and Parke with the Ninth Corps had been directed to engage the Confederate front, but Parke failed to capture the works against which he was sent, and as a consequence Warren was ordered to form a junction between Hancock's right and Parke's left.

This was impossible, owing to the almost impenetrable woods, the intricate intersecting roads, and the unreliable maps of the section. While the Union corps were thus separated and confused, A. P. Hill attacked Hancock and Warren, but when darkness came no decisive advantage had been gained by either side. The next day the Unionists retreated across Hatcher's Run to their own lines.

General Butler made a similar attempt at the same time on the north side of the James, but he failed, losing over a thousand prisoners.

This was the end of active operations in front of Petersburg and Richmond in 1864.

Early in the Shenandoah Valley

While Grant was pushing operations before Petersburg, he was obliged to weaken the force defending Washington, and the Confederates took advantage of the fact. At the time Lee was at Cold Harbor, he sent Early with eight thousand men to attack the Union troops in Shenandoah Valley. Upon the appearance of Early before Martinsburg, July 2d, Sigel retreated, and, finding himself pursued, did not stop until he had crossed the Potomac and taken position on Maryland Heights. Early went up the Monocacy into Maryland,

MAJOR-GENERAL BENJAMIN F. BUTLER AND STAFF

opposite the heights where Sigel was intrenched. The news that a Confederate force had again invaded the North caused great alarm in Washington. Reenforcements were hurried to the endangered section, and President Lincoln called upon Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts for militia with which to drive out the invaders. The response was prompt, but militia were not the kind of soldiers to pit against the Confederate veterans. General Lew Wallace was attacked at Monocacy Junction, July 9th, and routed. Consternation filled Washington when Rockville, only fourteen miles away, was in turn attacked, and Col. Harry Gilmor, with a troop of Confederate cavalry, cut communications between Baltimore and Philadelphia. He captured a railway train, carrying a number of Union officers, but in the confusion they managed to escape.

Alarm in Washington

On July 11th Early appeared before Washington, and opened fire on the batteries of Fort Stevens. People within the national capital not only heard the roar of the guns, but plainly saw the flashes in the gathering darkness and the horsemen galloping back and forth.

Meanwhile, Grant had been appealed to, and sent a corps from before Petersburg. Re-enforcements reached Washington, and General Augur drove off the Confederates under General Early, inflicting considerable loss.

Early retreated up the Potomac, and crossing, passed through Snicker's Gap to the western side of the Shenandoah. He repulsed General Wright who was pursuing him, established his headquarters at Winchester, and defeated Averill, who found shelter at Harper's Ferry.

The Confederate leader crossed the Potomac again, July 29th, reentered Maryland, and advanced to Chambersburg, Pa., where a demand was made for $300,000 in gold under penalty of burning the town. The ransom not being paid, the city was fired and a considerable portion destroyed before the arrival of Averill and his cavalry.

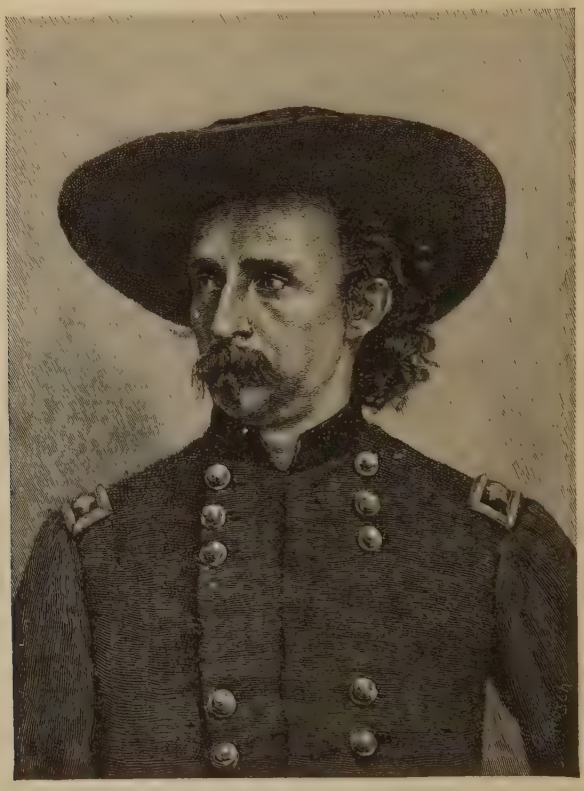
Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley

Determined to put an end to these exasperating raids, the Government united the departments of Western Virginia, Washington, and the Susquehanna, and placed it under command of General Sheridan, to whom was given a force of forty thousand men. Grant would not allow Sheridan to make an offensive movement for some time, but finally told the fiery officer that he might do so, provided he so desolated the valley that no force would be tempted to invade it.

Early's force was inferior to that of Sheridan, and the two watched

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

each other from opposite sides of the Opequan, a small tributary of the Potomac, west of the Shenandoah. A division was sent towards Martinsburg, so as to threaten the Union right. Sheridan immediately crossed and attacked Early's right. The latter recalled the division he had sent off, and a desperate struggle followed. What



GEORGE A. CUSTER

Sheridan's Brilliant Work

threatened to be a Confederate victory was turned into a wild, headlong rout by an impetuous charge of Sheridan, made at the critical moment. The enemy raced pell-mell through Winchester, with the Union cavalry whooping and slashing at their heels. General Rodes was killed, and twenty-five hundred prisoners, five pieces of artillery, and nine stands of colors captured. In his report, Sheridan aptly claimed that he had sent Early "whirling through Winchester." It must be remembered, however, that the Confederates

fought hard and inflicted severe loss on their opponents, who, wearied with the pursuit, drew off, and Early pulled his shattered forces together and took position at Fisher's Hill. Here, although strongly intrenched, he was attacked by Sheridan, September 21st, driven out, and compelled to retreat still farther up the valley. Shortly after,

PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

Early was strongly reenforced, and intrenched himself at Brown's Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, where he was secure.

The Valley Desolated

Having the leisure, Sheridan now set out to devastate the Shenandoah Valley, as directed by General Grant. Sheridan's own words graphically tell the story: "The whole country from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain has been rendered untenable for a rebel army. I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay and farming implements, over seventy mills filled with flour and

wheat. I have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock, having killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep, while a large number of horses have been obtained."

A Confederate force followed the Federals down the valley, but were repulsed when they attacked. The Union troops intrenched themselves on the north bank of Cedar Creek, and were fiercely assailed, October 19th, in the dim light of the early morning. Nearly all the Union pickets were captured, and the men roused from sleep were sent flying in the direction of Middletown. Eighteen of the Union guns were seized and turned on the fleeing Federals, who were finally rallied and the stampede checked.

The Unionists Routed

The food and drink in the Union camp proved an irresistible temptation to the famishing Confederates. They gave no attention to the fleeing enemy, and ate and drank and made merry to their hearts' content.

It so happened that Sheridan, believing his army secure, had gone to Washington to consult with the Government. He had reached Winchester on his return, and slept there, twenty miles from the battle-ground. He had just mounted his horse, when the faint boom of cannon told the startling fact—

> "The battle was on once more,
> And Sheridan twenty miles away."

Striking the spurs into the flanks of his black charger, he went down the road like a thunderbolt, never drawing rein until he caught sight of the terrified fugitives. His horse was covered with foam, and rising in his stirrups, Sheridan in a furious rage ordered them to follow him, as he sped forwards with his steed on a dead run. The broken lines doubled over and trailed after him, for his magnetism was resistless. Cheers rang out as he shouted that they were going right back to retake their camps.

"Sheridan's Ride"

And they did it. They swept onward to Cedar Creek like a tornado, carrying everything before them. Away went Early's troops, helter-skelter, without stopping to gather up their guns. So complete, indeed, was the rout and overthrow that the Confederates were able to do nothing more in the Shenandoah Valley during the war. Early's management was so disastrous that he was relieved of his command by General Lee, even though he was one of the lieutenant-generals of the Confederacy. Sheridan's exploit added greatly to his

fame as a dashing, brilliant fighter, and his memorable work on the 19th of October, 1864, inspired Thomas Buchanan Read's stirring poem, "Sheridan's Ride."

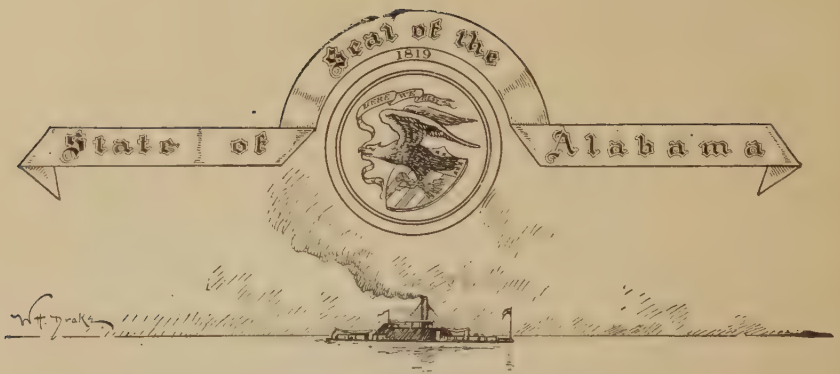
Grant saw the truth that was apparent to nearly every one: the Southern Confederacy was dying amid fire and blood and agony, but its throes were prolonged and involved so much misery to thousands that it was merciful to hasten its death. To do this, it was necessary to replenish the Union ranks, so that when the armies moved again they would be able to overwhelm the enemy. The Confederacy may be said to have had their last man in the field, and the increasing gaps in their ranks could not be filled.*

Final Preparations

Impressed with the views of the lieutenant-general, the Government had ordered the call for five hundred thousand men issued on the 18th of July, to be carried into effect on the 19th of September and succeeding days. Although Grant had failed in his active operations, he had fixed himself close to his adversary, who was unable to dislodge him. Butler was at work cutting a canal through Dutch Gap, with a view of facilitating the passage of the Union troops, and of turning the Confederate batteries at that portion of the channel.

* "A deep religious spirit pervaded our army, and the wrestlings at the Throne of Grace were of a fervid nature. But the most devout man could not have helped smiling at some of the petitions. A tall, gaunt, brave but uneducated man knelt at my side, and in a loud voice said: 'O Lord, we ask for Thy help and favor. We have had some pretty smart fighting, as Thou art probably aware. We beseech that Thou wilt take a proper view of the matter, and give us the victory.' But Heaven did not take the view desired.

"Another prayer-meeting was held in a log-cabin. One of the officers stepped to the door and beckoned vigorously to a brother officer to come over and join them. The officer shouted back, 'No, I thank you; I've just had a drink!'"—GENERAL GORDON.



Confederate Ram "Tennessee"

CHAPTER LXXIII

EVENTS OF 1864 (CONTINUED)—ON THE COAST

[*Authorities:*—In nothing is better shown the rapidity with which the world adapts itself to new conditions and requirements than in the Battle of Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864. On the evening of March 8, 1862, the *Monitor* arrived at Hampton Roads, and on the next day occurred a battle between the only two ironclad vessels in the world. Two years later, the National Government and the Confederate Government each was in possession of numerous ironclad monsters, against which the wooden vessels of previous history would have been mere toys. The Confederate vessel, *Tecumseh*, that gave Farragut so much trouble at Mobile, could easily have destroyed Admiral Nelson's fleet at Trafalgar.

The particular reference for this chapter is to Maclay's "History of the American Navy." The author of that work has very generously accorded to the writer of this work the privilege of drawing upon his interesting history. Boynton's "American Navy," Headley's "Farragut and Our Naval Commanders," and the various histories of the Civil War should also be consulted.]

HAVING followed the military movements in the East to the close of the year, let us learn what were the most important occurrences on the coast and ocean.

U. S. N. Flag-ship "Hartford"

Mobile was, next to New Orleans, the leading port in the Confederacy. When the latter city fell, it was believed in Richmond that Mobile would receive the next attack. Accordingly the fullest preparations were made against the danger. The naval forces were placed under Admiral Franklin Buchanan, who commanded the *Merrimac* on the first day of her appearance in Hampton Roads. The construction of five gunboats was begun in 1863 at Selma, one hundred and fifty miles up the Alabama River, then the largest naval station in the South. The most formidable of all the Confederate ironclads, the ram *Tennessee*, was completed in the following winter.

Although built under the supervision of the ablest engineers and a terrific monster in her way, her steering-gear was exposed and her speed was slow. Her crew consisted of eighteen officers and one hundred and ten men. Three Confederate gunboats besides took part in the battle which we are about to describe. They were the *Morgan*, the *Gaines*, and the *Selma*.

A Stupendous Programme

Believing that he could surprise the Union blockading fleet, Admiral Buchanan fixed upon the night of May 18th for the attempt. The programme of the *Tennessee* was to destroy the entire Union fleet, capture Fort Pickens at Pensacola, then New Orleans, and finally pay her respects to the Northern seaboard cities. The *Tennessee* ran aground and remained immovable until after daylight, when the chance of taking the Union fleet by surprise was gone. When she finally floated, she moved down the channel and anchored under the guns of Fort Morgan.

No place in the South was more powerfully fortified than Mobile. Fort Gaines was a brick fort on Dauphin Island, and had a garrison of 864 men. It mounted three 10-inch columbiads, four 32-pound rifled guns, and twenty smooth-bore guns. Fort Powell commanded the principal pass to Mississippi Sound, and had one 10-inch and one 8-inch columbiad, and four rifled guns. Fort Morgan was the main fortification, and mounted its guns in three tiers, and had a garrison of 640 men. The ship channel was spanned by a double row of torpedoes, and no precaution that ingenuity could devise to make the defences impregnable seemed to have been overlooked by the Confederates.

Farragut's Plan

On the 4th of August the Union fleet consisted of twenty-one wooden vessels and four ironclads. Admiral Farragut's plan was to pass up the channel close under the guns of Fort Morgan, where a free channel had been left for the blockade-runners. The machinery of the Union boats was protected to some extent by chains and sand-bags. The vessels were to sail in pairs, with the larger ship on the starboard side so as to give mutual help.

Farragut's intention was to lead with the *Hartford*, but at the urgent request of his officers he gave that perilous post to the *Brooklyn*, Captain James Alden, as she carried an apparatus for catching torpedoes and had four bow guns that could do effective service in approaching the fort. The monitors were to advance in a single line, slightly in advance of the wooden ships.

"The national fleet was one of the most formidable collection of war-vessels that at that time had ever been commanded by one man. Farragut carried in the palm of his hand more power for destruction than the combined English, French, and Spanish fleets at Trafalgar. Yet during the silent watches of that night the great admiral was restless. However calm he appeared to his officers and men, he was uneasy on the eve of this, his greatest battle. Descending into the privacy of the cabin, he made his personal arrangements for the terrible ordeal, and wrote to his wife: 'I am going into Mobile in the morning if God is my leader, as I hope He is, and in Him I place my trust. If I am to die, I am ready to submit to His will. God bless and preserve you if anything should happen to me.'" *

The Eve of the Battle

Before seven o'clock the next morning the vessels crossed the bar, and moved majestically up the channel in battle-line. Farragut took position in the port main shrouds on the upper sheer ratline, twenty-five feet up, so as to gain a better view of the battle, and above him in the top was the pilot.

It lacked a few minutes of seven when the *Tecumseh*, the leading monitor, opened the battle by firing two shells, one of which was seen to explode over Fort Morgan, which maintained a sullen silence for about twenty minutes. Then a puff of smoke, through which darted a red tongue of fire, shot from the parapets. A faint heavy boom followed, and a huge shell sent up a shower of water near the *Brooklyn*. Other puffs and booms succeeded, and the missiles splashed close to the ships.

Advance of the Union Fleet

The monitors were expected to draw the first fire of Fort Morgan, but they moved so slowly that the wooden ships gradually overtook them. The *Brooklyn* began firing her bow guns, and the others did the same as their forward guns bore. The ram *Tennessee* and the Confederate gunboats came out from behind Fort Morgan, and taking position within the line of torpedoes, opened fire on the approaching ships. Improving in their range, they sent showers of splinters flying around the decks. When within easy range, the *Hartford* fired a bow gun, soon followed by the other forward guns, and then by her tremendous broadside. The enveloping smoke partially screened the ship from the gunners in the fort. As the vapor gradually lifted, Farragut instinctively kept stepping up the rigging, so as to keep above it, until he was partly above the futtock bands

* Maclay.

FARRAGUT IN THE RIGGING,—AUGUST 5TH. 1864

and holding fast to the futtock shrouds. Captain Drayton was closely watching the admiral, and fearful that some accident might befall him, he ordered John H. Knowles, signal quartermaster, to climb the rigging and secure him to the shrouds. Knowles obeyed orders, though the admiral gently protested.*

* Since several persons have claimed this honor, it is well that it should be established beyond dispute. In reply to an inquiry the following letter was written:

"U. S. NAVAL ACADEMY,
"ANNAPOLIS, Md., April 13, 1894.

"SIR: Yours of the 10th inst. has been received, and in reply to the information you seek I will try to do my best. The affair you referred to happened on the 5th day of August, 1864. About 9:30 or 10 o'clock in the morning Lieutenant Watson (Captain now) asked Lieutenant Kimberly (Admiral now) if it would not be a good plan to pass a rope around the Admiral, and he (Kimberly) asked the Captain, P. Drayton, and he said yes. And then Lieutenant Watson gave me the order. The Admiral then was about half-way up the main rigging. I was chief quartermaster, and near Mr. Watson. He told me to go up and pass a rope around the Admiral. I picked up a piece of lead-line and ran up the main rigging after the Admiral. By the time I got to him he was close up under the top, back to me, and I made one end of the rope fast to the futtock shroud and around the Admiral, and made it fast on the other side. He said to me, 'What are you doing?' I said I was making a rope fast around him, and he said, 'Oh, nonsense.'

Honor to Whom Honor is Due

"I stayed there with him about five minutes. Then I came down and left him. He must have cast himself loose, for he got down again all right. He must have been up there full twenty minutes. He was not in full uniform. It was a place of danger. In fact, any place was that. It took about two minutes to make him fast. All of this happened in the hottest of the battle.

"You can be sure of the right man. I am the boy. A number claim to be the man that lashed the Admiral to the mast, but they are all fabulous. I have Admiral Kimberly and Capt. J. C. Watson to prove it. I will send you a picture of myself; look out for it. I was chief quartermaster at the time. Hoping this will suit you, I will stop.

"JOHN H. KNOWLES,
"Chief Quartermaster flagship *Hartford*, Aug. 5, 1864, 10 o'clock in the morning."

In corroboration of the above quaint account, Admiral L. A. Kimberly wrote:

"The man who lashed Admiral Farragut to the rigging was the signal quartermaster, John H. Knowles.

"The lashing was made fast to the main shrouds, just below the futtock shrouds, on the port side, and the Admiral stood on the ratlines, within the bight of this lashing, and it was not made fast to him in any way, but if he had slipped or fallen it would have supported him and prevented him from falling either overboard or onto the deck.

"His object in going aloft was to get above the smoke, and to conduct the ship up the channel through the lines of torpedoes and into the Confederate squadron, which he did, defeating and capturing it.

"Trusting this reply to your questions will prove satisfactory,

"I remain, respectfully yours,

"L. A. KIMBERLY,
"Rear Admiral U. S. N., retired, and Lieutenant-Commander and Executive Officer of the U. S. flagship *Hartford* at the battle of Mobile Bay, Aug. 5, 1864."

Knowles was a typical American sailor, who loyally served his country for forty years

BATTLE OF MOBILE BAY

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FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY WARREN SHEPPARD

The thickening smoke obliged the admiral to go still higher. He unfastened the lashings, and, as he reached the futtock shrouds, he passed the line several times around himself and tied the end to the rigging. He signalled for closer order, and the command was promptly obeyed, the larger vessels pouring in their broadsides on the fort, and the monitors hammering with terrific effect.

Commander Tunis A. M. Craven, with the *Tecumseh*, was eager to grapple with the *Tennessee*. He paid no attention to the fire of the fort, but made for the massive ram. The better to direct the movements of his craft, he stationed himself in the pilot-house beside John Collins, his pilot. The pilot-house had but a single opening leading into the turret chamber below, and through which only one man could pass at a time.

Destruction of the "Tecumseh"

A movement of the *Tennessee* led Craven to think she was retreating, and determined to force a battle, he ran his vessel directly over the line of torpedoes, so as to reach her. Suddenly there was a muffled explosion, and an enormous mass of water leaped into the air beside the *Tecumseh*, which lurched heavily to port, then her bow dropped, her stern tilted up, the screw, relieved of all resistance, spinning around with lightning swiftness in the air, and the monitor plunged out of sight, carrying down ninety-three men out of a crew of one hundred and fourteen. One of the immense torpedoes had exploded under her, so wounding the vessel that she sank within half a minute.

Commander Craven and Pilot Collins, understanding the nature of the disaster, instinctively made for the opening and reached it at the same instant. Ten seconds' delay meant death to both. Craven stepped back and said, with an heroic courtesy that no one can think of without a thrill: "After you, sir!" The pilot managed to save himself, but the noble Craven went down with his crew.

Farragut had seen the terrifying disaster, and asked the *Metacomet* to send a ship to pick up the survivors. This had already been done, the fort carefully refraining from firing on the boat while engaged in its work of mercy.

Shortly after a wholesale disaster threatened the fleet. The force of the flood tide, and the efforts to avoid the torpedoes while under

in the *Brooklyn*, the *Donegal*, the *Constellation*, and the *Phlox*, and on the *Hartford* in all her engagements throughout the Civil War. He received nineteen good-conduct discharges—ten three-year discharges and nine one-year discharges.

the tremendous fire of the fort, caused a confusion, with the seeming certainty of a number of collisions. It was only the genius and consummate seamanship of Farragut, whose eagle eye took in everything, that saved the Union fleet from destruction at the crisis of the battle. He disentangled the ships, and the monitors which were lagging were ordered to go ahead without regard to the torpedoes that were all around them.

A Narrow Escape

Seeing that there was but the one path from destruction, Farragut sent the *Hartford* directly into the network of torpedoes, which had sunk the *Tecumseh*. The men on the other vessels held their breath, expecting to see the noble old flagship and her heroic commander and crew blown to fragments. No more decisive test of bravery is conceivable than that which came to the men in the magazines in the bottom of the ship. Standing in awed silence, they heard a strange, grating noise along the hull of the *Hartford*. They knew its horrible meaning. They were rubbing over one of the infernal contrivances that had been fashioned and set so that just such a friction would cause it to burst with an explosion as destructive to the *Hartford* and all on board as a thousand thunderbolts.

That hideous scraping steadily travelled from bow to stern, and then slid off into silence. The torpedo, which had dipped to the ponderous sweep of the hull, had made its obeisance to the grand old *Hartford* and its grander master, and raised its head again.

But the welcome stillness was but for a moment. A second grating began at the bow and slipped along toward the stern; then another and another, but every one remained mute and harmless, and the *Hartford* crossed the fatal belt and glided into the calm waters of safety. No deed of ancient or modern naval history surpassed that of Admiral Farragut on that 5th of August, 1864, in the bay of Mobile. The Confederate commander of Fort Morgan was thrilled with admiration, and declared that the admiral's coolness and quick perception saved the Union fleet from destruction.

Farragut's Daring

Farragut's action placed the *Hartford* in the lead. The terrible ram *Tennessee* was waiting to smash her side with a percussion shell from her forward 7-inch rifled gun, and, failing in that, to crush her oaken ribs as if they were so much card-paper; but the jagged hole that was torn in her hull was above the water-line, and she escaped the first peril. Then Buchanan drove the ram towards the *Hartford*, intending to sink her, as he sank the *Cumberland* more than two

years before at Hampton Roads; but Farragut evaded the charge and swept up the channel.

The ram missed the *Hartford*, and afterwards the *Metacomet*. Then she started down the channel to attack the remaining vessels. Every one expected that she would ram the *Brooklyn*, but she sheered off, put two shot through her side, and then made for the *Richmond* and *Port Royal*. The broadsides hurled against the iron hide of the ram glanced off like peas, while her own shot, owing to the hasty aim, did less damage than was expected.

Activity of the Ram

The machinery of the ram worked poorly. When Buchanan made a sheer to ram the *Lackawanna*, one of the next couple in the line, he missed and placed himself broadside across the path of the Union ships. The *Monongahela*, coming next in order, had fixed up an iron prow, and immediately charged the ram; but the *Kennebec*, lashed to her side, held her back, and the blow glanced off, as did the broadside which accompanied it. Then the ram became involved with several Union craft, and a vicious fight lasted for some time. Finally the *Tennessee*, like a panting leviathan, floundered under the walls of Fort Morgan to regain breath, and the Union vessels moved on their way up the channel.

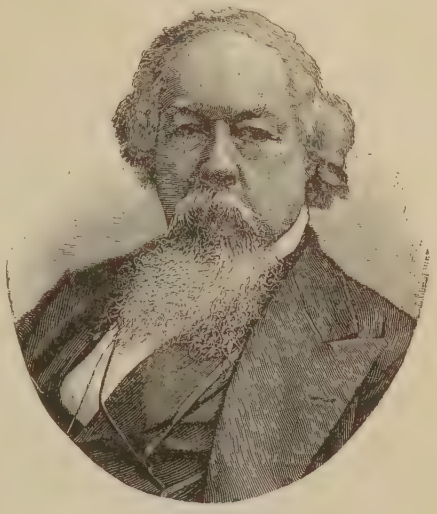
It seemed as if every possible peril waited for the *Hartford*. After passing the line of torpedoes, she was raked by one of three Confederate gunboats. A single shot killed ten men and wounded five, and several of the gun crews were reduced to half their number. The fine marksmanship of the *Hartford* soon resulted in the grounding and desertion of one of the gunboats. Farragut signalled to the Union gunboats to pursue those of the enemy. This was done with so much vigor that the *Selma*, the craft which had done such damage on the *Hartford*, was run down and compelled to surrender.

The Ram Repulsed

Fort Morgan had been passed successfully, the Confederate gunboats scattered, and the ram *Tennessee* driven under the guns of the water-battery. Mobile harbor was in full possession of the Union fleet, which anchored some four miles above the fort. But so long as the ram, though much damaged, crouched and waited to attack again, the victory was not complete, and Farragut was determined to destroy the monster as soon as he had given his men the few hours' rest of which they stood in sore need.

But Admiral Buchanan did not wait to be attacked. The eyes of the Union sailors, which were turned to the fort where the monster

was belching black puffs through her twisted smoke-stack, saw that she was creeping towards the Union fleet for the final death grapple. The parapets of Forts Morgan, Gaines, and Powell swarmed with spectators of the impending battle that was to bring the end of it all.



T. T. CRAVEN

Slowly swinging around, the iron-ribbed monster steamed out to destroy the three monitors and almost a score of warships. Farragut signalled, "Attack the ram with your guns and your bows, at full speed!" and the *Lackawanna* and the *Monongahela* were ordered to run down the *Tennessee*. The guns had proved useless against the massive armor, and Farragut determined to resort to ramming. When, therefore, the *Tennessee* was about a hundred feet away, the *Monongahela* struck her a prodigious blow amidships on the starboard side, the shock throwing many men prostrate in both craft. The only damage to the ram was the starting of a slight leak, while the iron prow of the *Monongahela* was torn off. At the moment of collision the *Tennessee* discharged two shells, one of which wounded an officer and two men. At a distance of thirty feet the starboard broadside of the Union craft did no harm whatever.

The next blow was from the *Lackawanna*, which tipped the ram partly over. The two then swung round, and lay side by side so close that their port sides scraped and the crews exchanged imprecations. The Union craft fired musketry into the ports of the ram, and a Confederate gunner who was intolerably abusive was struck by a holystone, which the captain of the *Lackawanna's* forecastle hurled at him. An exploding shell started a fire in the shell-room of the Union boat, but it was gallantly extinguished by George Taylor, the wounded armorer.

The Ram Injured

Now for the first time the ram was hurt. A shot from a 9-inch gun on the *Lackawanna* smashed one of the *Tennessee's* shutters, and

the fragments were driven within the shield. Then the *Lackawanna* jammed her battered snout against the ram and increased the leak.

But the *Tennessee* was after more royal game. Sending a couple of farewell shots after the *Lackawanna*, she headed for the *Hartford*. Farragut's eye kindled at sight of the advancing monster, and he eagerly accepted the challenge. The Confederate and Union admirals were about to close in a death-struggle.

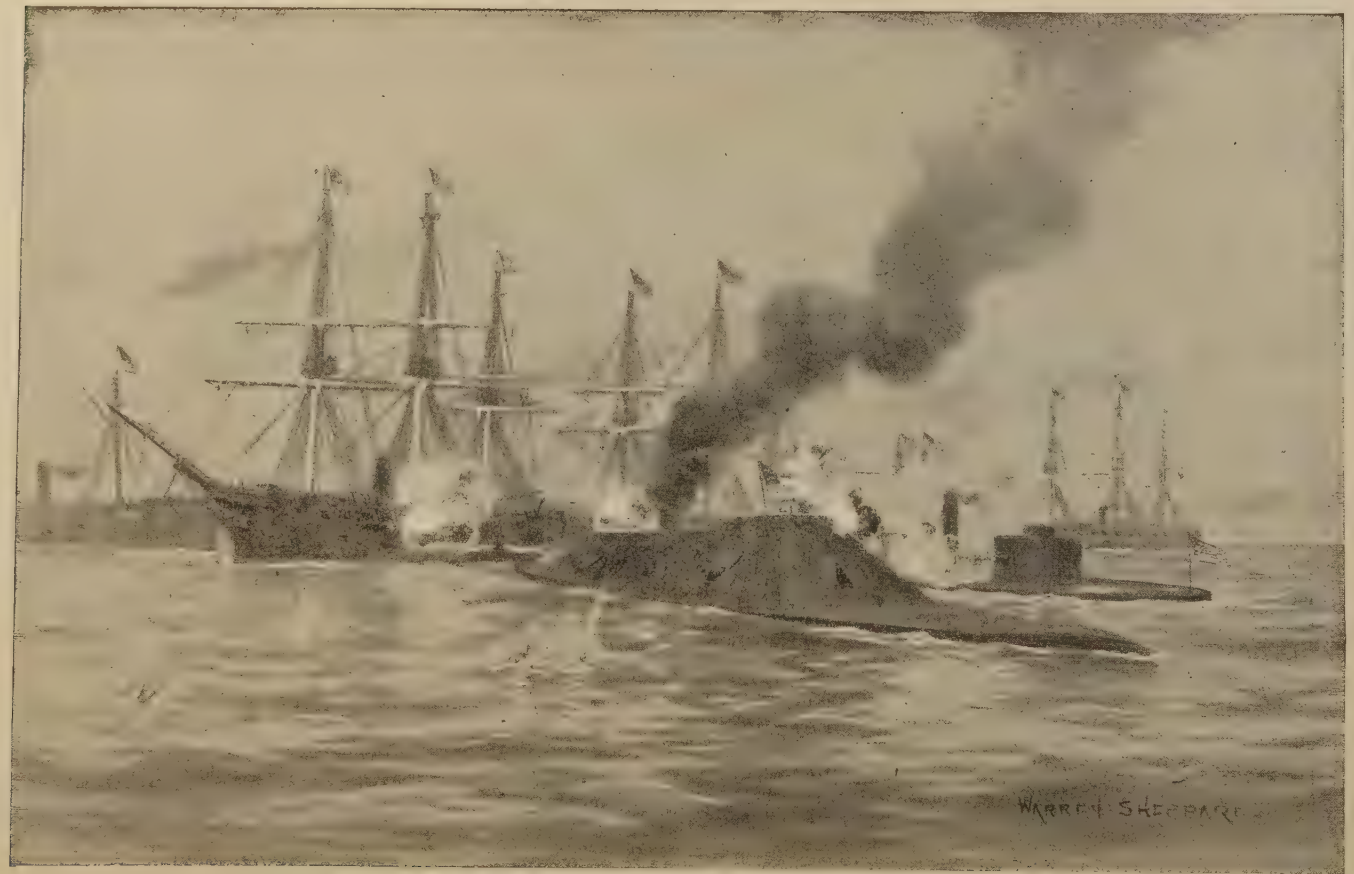
An Impending Death Struggle

The intervening space was too short for the *Hartford* to swing round and strike the side of the ram, and a bow-end collision seeming inevitable, the other frightened Union ships poured in their useless broadsides. Farragut's hope was that when the ram drove her horn into the side of the *Hartford*, she would not be able to pull it out, and the two would go down locked together. The admiral sprang to the port quarter-rail, holding to the mizzen rigging, and coolly watched the approaching catastrophe.

At the critical moment the *Tennessee* swerved, the *Hartford's* port bow rasping against the port beam of the ram. The Union vessel fired several 9-inch guns, but the solid shot did no harm. Farragut and his men heard the clicks of the gun-hammers as the ram attempted to return the broadside, but the same marvellous good fortune that had attended the *Hartford* from the first stayed with her to the end. The powder did not ignite, except in the case of one gun, whose shell killed an officer and four men. Had the broadside been delivered, the *Hartford* must have been blown out of water.

While the *Tennessee* was receiving this furious ramming from the wooden ships, the three monitors were hurrying forwards to help in the fight. The *Monongahela* had just backed off after butting the *Tennessee*, when Lieutenant Wharton, of the ram, peeping out of the side of one of his gun-ports, saw a "hideous-looking monster [the *Manhattan*] creeping up on our port side, whose slowly revolving turret revealed the cavernous depths of a mammoth gun. 'Stand clear of the port side!' I shouted. A moment afterwards a thunderous report shook us all, while a blast of dense, sulphurous smoke covered our port-holes, and four hundred and forty pounds of iron, impelled by sixty pounds of powder, admitted daylight through our sides, where, before it struck us, there had been over two feet of solid wood covered with five inches of solid iron. This was the only 15-inch shot that hit us fair. It did not come through; the inside netting caught the splinters, and there were no casualties from it."

The "Tennessee" in Extremity



UNION ATTACK ON THE RAM "TENNESSEE," MOBILE BAY

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY WARREN SHEPPARD

The *Chickasaw*, after firing her guns, ran under the *Tennessee's* stern and hung on like a bulldog, continually biting with her 11-inch guns, many of which inflicted serious injury. Meanwhile, the *Winnebago* and the *Manhattan* kept up a continuous hammering, all of which began to tell upon the thick hide of the colossal "sea-hog." The iron plates were started, a gun-carriage was disabled, three of the port shutters jammed, the smoke-stack snapped off under the casemate, and the coal smoke pouring into the gun-room made the heat and strangling air intolerable. Then the stern port shutter was jammed, so that the gun could not be used, and the rudder-chains were shot away.

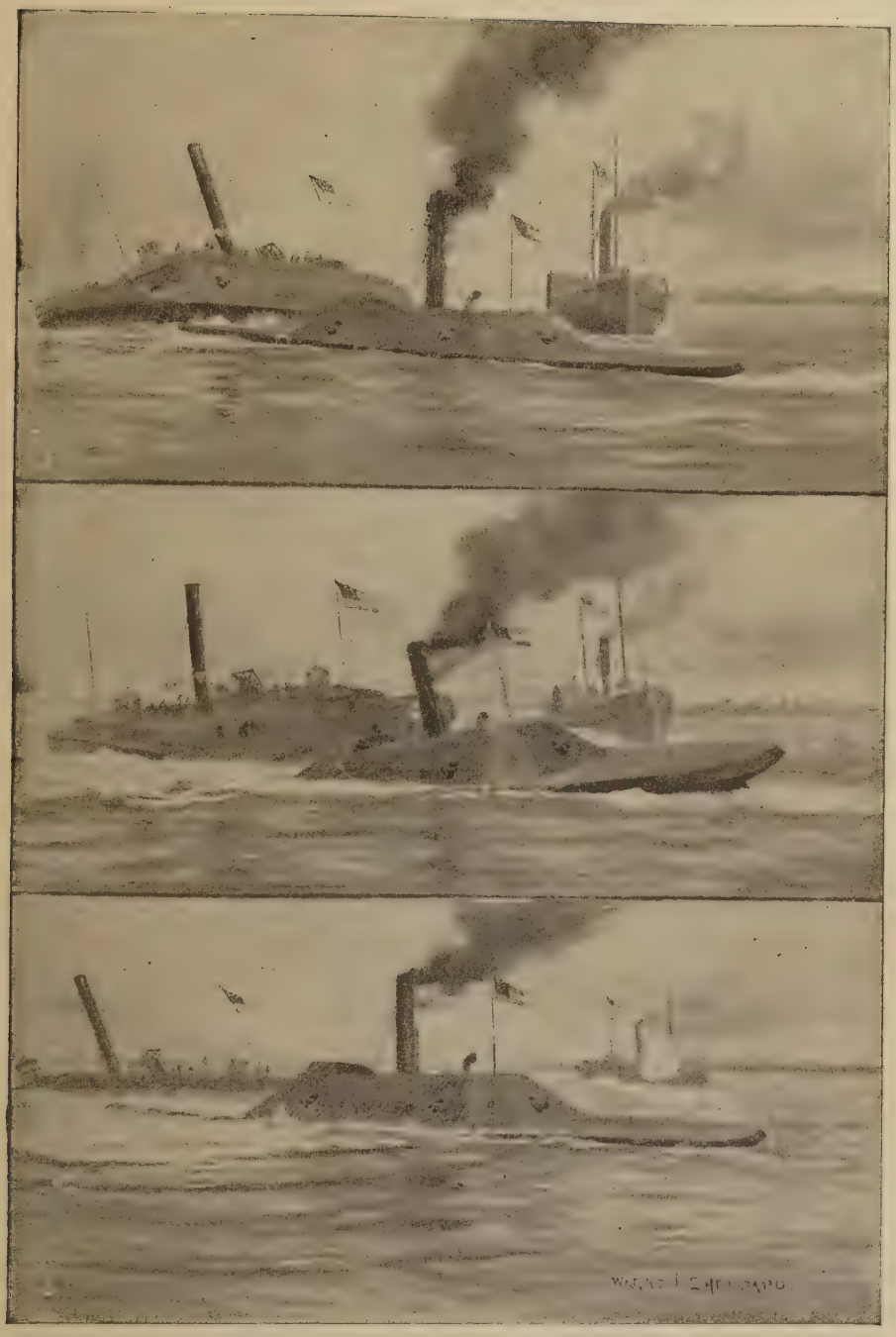
LIEUT. W. B. CUSHING, U. S. N.

Seeing that he was helpless, Buchanan gave orders to steer the ram for Fort Morgan, in the hope of reaching the shelter of its guns, but a few minutes later the flying debris broke Buchanan's leg below the knee. He turned over the command to Captain Johnston, with orders to do what he thought best.

The condition of the ram was more desperate than ever. The steam had gone down, and it was groping blindly hither and thither, like a whale continually stabbed by a shoal of swordfish, and without any way of escape from its tormentors, who grew more merciless as the monster's strength departed.

Surrender of the Ram

Captain Johnston grimly accepted the pounding for twenty minutes, without being able to fire a shot in return. Then he went below to consult with Admiral Buchanan. "If you can do no more, then surrender," was the reply of the wounded commander. The captain climbed to the top of the casemate and took down the flag, which had been tied to a gun-scraper and pushed through the grating. The withdrawal of the flag was not immediately understood by



AN EXTRAORDINARY OCCURRENCE (SEE PAGE 1249)

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the Union fleet, which continued firing. Captain Johnston then returned to the casemate and displayed a white flag, which instantly stopped the firing. Old Glory was hoisted over the *Tennessee*, amid the cheers of the fleet, and the shattered ram was taken in tow by the *Chickasaw* and anchored near the *Hartford*.

In this furious battle, the Union loss was 52 killed and 170 wounded, the loss of the *Tecumseh* being 93 drowned and 4 captured. The Confederates had 12 killed and 20 wounded.

The same afternoon the *Chickasaw* bombarded Fort Powell for an hour. It was abandoned and blown up by the garrison on the following night. On the 6th the *Chickasaw* opened fire on Fort Gaines, which surrendered the next morning. Only Fort Morgan now remained. A heavy bombardment, begun on the 22d of August, compelled the fort to surrender the next day. Mobile at last was effectually closed as a port for blockade-runners. Admiral Farragut went north, and Capt. James S. Palmer assumed command of the fleet.

Surrender of the Forts

Feeling the loss of Roanoke Island and the adjoining waters more deeply than would be supposed, the Confederates made a number of determined efforts to recover them. On March 14, 1863, the Union fort on the river Neuse, opposite New Berne, was attacked, but with the help of two gunboats the enemy was driven off. In January another attempt was made, in which a Union gunboat was destroyed.

By this time the Confederates saw that their great need was a powerful ironclad to work on these inland waters and make havoc among the Union wooden gunboats. Accordingly, in the early part of 1863, they began constructing the *Albemarle*, at Edwards Ferry. The difficulties were great. It was impossible to secure the iron, except by scouring the country for miles, and a common blacksmith's outfit formed the plant for building; but with great pluck and perseverance the formidable ram was completed, and armed with an Armstrong 100-pounder at the bow and one at the stern, which could be used as broadside or quarter guns.

Building of the "Albemarle"

A savage attack was made by the Confederates on Plymouth, April 17th and 18th. Two wooden gunboats helped in repelling the assault. It was known that the *Albemarle* was nearly finished, and obstructions were placed across the river above the town to prevent the craft coming down. The water, however, was so unusually high that she floated over the obstructions, and at midnight, April 19th,

was discovered by the Union gunboats. A remarkable battle followed.

The *Albemarle* plunged her iron snout clean into the fire-room of the *Southfield*, and could not draw it out. The gunboat began sinking; pulling down the head of the ram, until water rushed through the forward open ports. The *Albemarle* must have been carried to the bottom by this great weight clinging to her head, had not the *Southfield*, on touching bottom, rolled over and set free the ram, which flung up its front again.

A Strange Occurrence

The two gunboats had been viciously hurling their shells against the iron ribs of the ram, only to have them glance off or shattered to fragments. Lieutenant Flusser, commanding the *Miami*, fired a huge shell at the ram when but a few yards distant. A shower of fragments flew back with such force that the officer was instantly killed and a dozen men wounded. The Union craft were helpless against this monster, and after the *Southfield* sank, the *Miami* fled down the river. Plymouth surrendered the next day.

The terrifying power of this craft, and the belief that she had only opened the programme laid out for her, caused grave anxiety on the part of the Union government. So prodigious indeed was the strength of the ram, and so helpless the gunboats, that it was feared that the *Albemarle* would seriously interfere with the campaign which Grant was prosecuting against Richmond.

Precautions to Protect the Ram

Lieut. William B. Cushing, barely twenty-one years old, but one of the most daring officers in the American navy, volunteered to destroy the *Albemarle*. Well aware that such attempts would be made, the Confederates took every possible precaution for its protection. The ram was moored to the wharf at Plymouth, and a double line of sentries was posted along the river. A regiment of soldiers were on guard, and a considerable crew were alert. Cypress logs, bound together by chains, were fastened to a distance of thirty feet from the sides of the hull, and prevented any torpedo-boat approaching nigh enough to strike. A gun was always kept loaded and trained on the bend just below, around which every attacking party must come.

On the night of October 26th the picket-boat was towed near the mouth of the Roanoke, and started up the river; but, running aground, could not get afloat until too late, and action was deferred until the following night, which fortunately proved unusually dark and stormy.

PERIOD VI — THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865

It was about "low twelve" that the start was made. The crew consisted of fourteen men, selected from the sailors and marines. Cushing took his station in the stern. He had planned to land a short distance below the ram, board it from the wharf, and make off down-stream. Should it prove impossible to do this, he would blow up the craft.

Cushing's Daring Scheme

A mile below Plymouth lay the *Southfield*, where she had been partly raised by her captors, and near the wreck a schooner with twenty-five Confederates was anchored, and provided with a field-piece and rocket to warn the people above of the approach of danger. Lieutenant Cushing expected to be discovered, and had a small cutter in tow, with which he meant to make a sudden dash and by a quick capture prevent the guard of the *Albemarle* from being apprised of danger.

But the guard was drowsy. The picket-boat was slowed down so as to lessen the noise, and as its little crew braced themselves for the fight, they caught the dim outlines of the wreck through the gloom; but there was no hail, and the launch slipped past in the darkness. Cushing was relieved, and was resolved to land near the wharf, seize the *Albemarle*, and bring her into the sound. A few minutes later the two boats stole around the bend of the river, in full range of the cannon and in sight of the town.

It was the custom of the Confederates to keep fires burning through the night, so as to reveal the approach of an enemy, but they were as neglectful as the guards below. The fires had been allowed to go out, and the darkness, with a drizzling rain, could not have been more favorable.

There was a faint glow from the embers, and with the engine slowed down the picket-boat crept softly up-stream, holding the hand of the cutter, as may be said, and leading it through the dense gloom towards the slumbering leviathan, whose outlines gradually assumed form in the night.

The Approach Discovered

At this critical moment, a dog on shore set up a spiteful barking and aroused the sentry. He saw the two boats and challenged them. Cushing and his men remained mute, and a second hail bringing no reply, the sentry fired his musket. It seemed as if this started a score of dogs barking, and there were confusion and excitement everywhere. Men ran to and fro, alarm rattles were sprung, bells jangled, and fuel was thrown upon the fires, which quickly lit up the

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BLOWING UP OF THE "ALBEMARLE"

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY WARREN SHEPPARD

river from shore to shore and for a long distance up and down stream.

A Desperate Attack

It was evident that the most faithful of all the sentinels had destroyed by his barking the chance of capturing the *Albemarle* by surprise. Cushing cut the tow-line, ordered the cutter to hurry down the river and capture the picket-guard near the *Southfield*, and called to the engineer to drive the launch ahead at the highest possible speed. The next minute the lieutenant discovered the cordon of logs around the ram, but he was not to be baffled. Circling out in the river, until a hundred yards away, he headed towards the ram again, and every ounce of steam was crowded on.

Cushing's hope was that the logs had been in the water long enough to become soggy and slimy, and that the launch would slip far enough over them to allow him to use his torpedo. While dashing forwards at full speed, a volley of musketry flamed from the back of the ram, and the lieutenant's coat was shredded by the buckshot, which did not injure him. At the same time the snapping of the primers showed that the terrible cannon had missed fire.

When close to the ram, Cushing shouted: "Leave the boat! we're going to blow you up!" This advice, however, was based more upon strategy than humanity, and was not obeyed as desired.

The launch climbed up and slipped over the boom of logs, to within a dozen feet of the ram. Cushing, as cool as if swinging in a hammock, lowered the torpedo-spar, and made sure that it was under the ironclad's overhang. Then with a smart jerk he detached it. The infernal thing came slowly upwards, and he felt it gently bump against the bottom of the *Albemarle*. At that instant he gave a snap at the trigger-line.

Destruction of the "Albemarle"

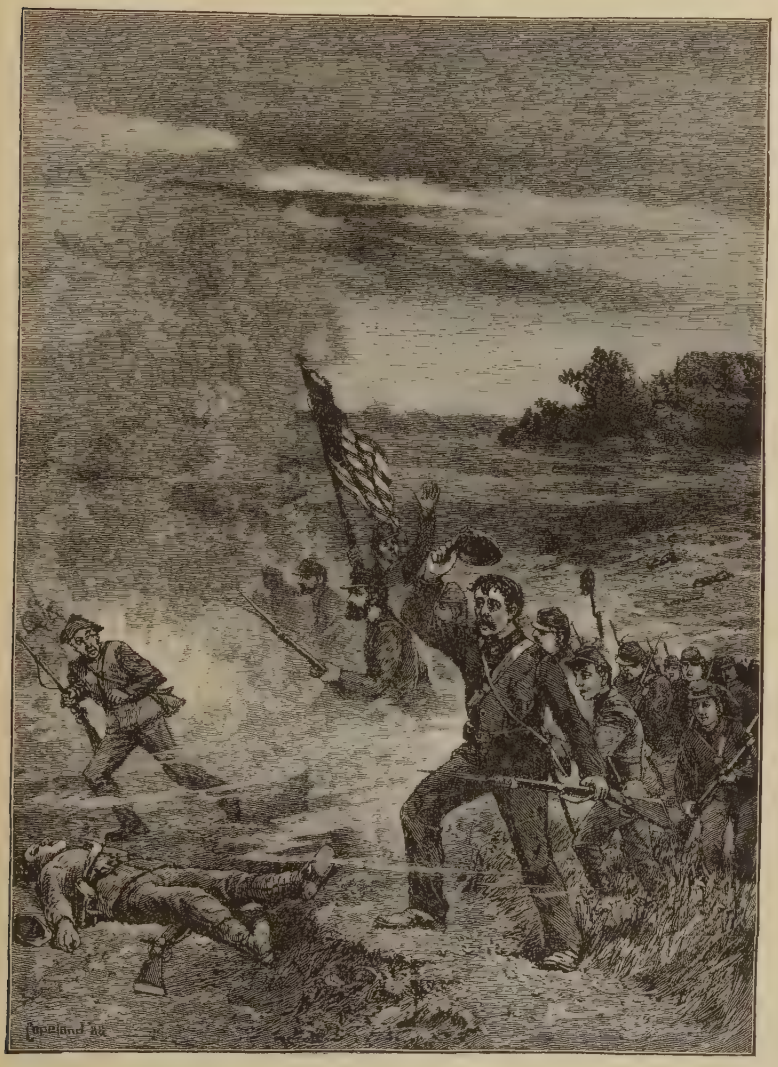
A muffled, thunderous boom sounded from the watery depths, a column shot upward, and nearly fifty square feet was gouged out of the bottom of the ram.

The good fortune of the daring lieutenant and his crew was marvellous. A rifled gun aimed directly at the launch, and loaded with a hundred pounds of canister, was fired from a distance of less than a rod. Every man would have been blown to fragments had the discharge taken place a second sooner, but the torpedo, by its instant anticipation, spoiled the aim of the gunners, and the storm of deadly sleet missed its target.

The Confederates repeated their demand for the party to surrender,

and a number did so, but Cushing was not among them. He had performed a great exploit, and meant to go home.

"Every man save himself!" he shouted, as he hurriedly removed



ATTACK ON FORT FISHER

his sword, revolver, and coat, and, kicking off his shoes, leaped into the water and swam down-stream. Several of the crew had been killed and a number wounded, but John Woodman, acting master's

mate, sprang overboard at the same time with Cushing, the two striking out in different directions.

Cushing's Good Fortune

Probably a score of shots were fired at Cushing, most of which almost grazed him, but he was not wounded, and swam for half a mile, when, exhausted, he heard a splashing near him. He found it was made by Woodman, who was in a drowning condition. Cushing kept his head above the water, though hardly able to move his own limbs, but finally Woodman slipped from his grasp and did not come up again.

Not knowing in which direction to turn to reach the shore, the lieutenant let his feet sink, expecting to drown, but instead they touched bottom. Struggling to land, he dropped among the wet reeds, and lay for several hours, too exhausted to move.

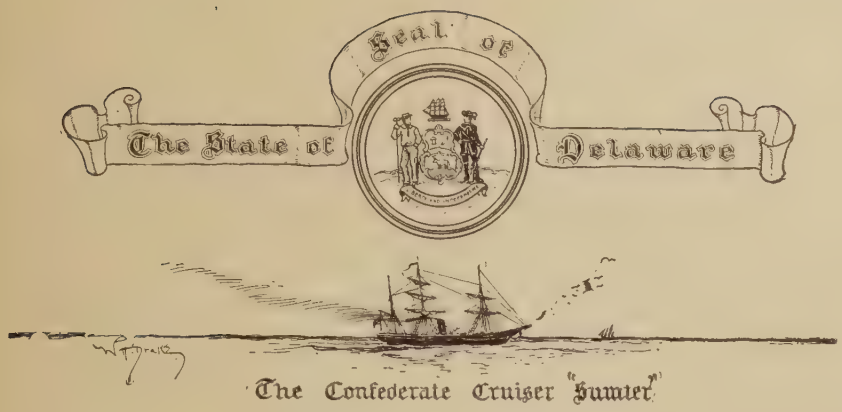
When daylight came, Cushing regained his feet, and knowing that the Confederates were searching both sides of the river, he crawled into a swamp, and lay down among the brush near a path. He had hardly done so, when two officers walked by, talking about the sinking of the *Albemarle*.

Resting until he had regained in some degree his strength, the lieutenant sought out a negro's hut and asked for food. The man showed him every kindness, and thrilled him by confirming the news that the formidable ram was at the bottom of the river. Cushing remained with the negro until late in the day, when, after a long tramp through wood and swamp, he found an old skiff, in which he finally made his way to the Union fleet. For his magnificent service Cushing was thanked by Congress and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-commander. No doubt he would have met the great expectations formed of his career, but, unfortunately, a few years later he became insane and soon died.

Capture of Fort Fisher

Wilmington, N. C., was an important city of the Confederacy. Despite the vigilance of the Union fleet, numerous blockade-runners managed to slip in and out and to bring valuable supplies for the army. The mouth of Cape Fear River was guarded by Fort Fisher, a powerful work. General Butler made an effort to capture it in December, but failed. It was taken by Gen. Alfred Terry, on the 15th of the following January, and the garrison hastened off to join the army with which General Johnston was disputing the advance of Sherman.

CAPTAIN JOHN A. WINSLOW AND OFFICERS ON THE DECK OF THE "KEARSARGE"



The Confederate Cruiser "Sumter"

CHAPTER LXXIV

EVENTS OF 1864 (CONTINUED)—ON THE OCEAN

[*Authorities:* This chapter tells the story of the work of Confederate privateers. Perhaps there is nothing that can better illustrate the foolishness of war than the story it tells. That each of two parties at war should destroy as many of the opposite side as possible is manifestly to be expected. But that armed vessels should be fitted out and sent upon the high seas to destroy vessels engaged in peaceful commerce, and to do it for no other reason than that they belong to the other side, is almost inconceivable. They say that the activities of the world are dominated by the best minds of the world. If such doings are organized and carried on at the behest of the men that advise and rule human action, it naturally suggests that the millennium is still far off.

The suggestion is much emphasized when we consider that England, the country of the world supposed to be most civilized, builds, mans, and equips these privateers and pirates, and aids and abets them in every way. Special authorities for this chapter are the histories of Maclay, Lossing, Greeley, and others.]

The Confederate Cruiser "Alabama"

WE have referred to the shameful course of Great Britain during our struggle to preserve the Union, as shown by her treacherous help in fitting out Confederate privateers to prey upon Northern shipping. When the war opened, the commerce of the United States was second only to that of England. Mention has been made of the *Sumter*, which was one of the first of the Confederate cruisers to get to sea. In July, 1861, under the command of Capt. Raphael Semmes, she escaped the blockading squadron at New Orleans, and took eight prizes within a week. While cruising along the South American coast she stopped at several ports, and, though her character was well known, she was cordially treated in them all. The *Iroquois* attempted to blockade the *Sumter* in the port of St. Pierre, Martinique, in November, but she eluded the United States steamer during the

night in a squall of rain, and continued her career as a commerce-destroyer. It was at Gibraltar that she was so closely blockaded that Captain Semmes sold the ship and disbanded his crew. During her cruises the *Sumter* captured fifteen prizes, of which six were released in Cuban ports, seven were burned, one ransomed, and one recaptured. The *Sumter* afterwards became a blockade-runner.

The "Florida"

The *Florida* was built at Liverpool, in 1861–62, under the name of the *Oreto*, the pretence being that she was for the Italian government. The Italian consul disclaimed all knowledge of her, and Minister Adams submitted positive proof to the English authorities that she was a Confederate cruiser. Despite all this, she was permitted to clear from Liverpool, March 22, 1862, for Nassau, where she arrived April 28th, and was joined by the English steamer *Bahama*, with guns and ammunition. The farce of libelling her was played, but she was soon released, and sailed for a small barren island of the Bahamas, where she received her supplies and a complete outfit. The manner in which she entered Mobile, by displaying the British colors, has already been told.

The commander of the *Florida* was John Newland Maffitt, who secured a full complement of men at Mobile, and before it was light, on the morning of January 16, 1863, she eluded the blockading squadron awaiting her. She was a very swift vessel, and though chased for a day and a half, she ran into Nassau, where the British inhabitants gave her welcome, and allowed her to stay twelve hours over the twenty-four permitted by government instructions.

Capture of the "Florida"

After taking a large number of prizes, the *Florida* sailed for Brest, and remained several months. She was fully overhauled and placed under the command of Capt. Charles M. Morris. Once more she crossed the Atlantic, and the British authorities obligingly allowed her to coal at Bermuda. Destroying shipping right and left, the *Florida* anchored at Bahia, October 5, 1864. There she found the United States sloop-of-war *Wachusett*, Commander Napoleon Collins. To prevent a battle in port, a Brazilian corvette anchored between the two vessels. Before light, October 7th, Collins deliberately attempted to ram and sink the *Florida* at her anchorage. Captain Morris and most of his officers and men were ashore. Failing to sink the cruiser, several shots were fired, when Lieutenant Porter surrendered with sixty-nine officers and men. Collins then took the

cruiser in tow, and, despite the protests of the Brazilian authorities, left the harbor with her.

This was an open violation of the rights of a neutral port, which was disavowed by our Government; and yet when we recall the numerous acts of a precisely similar nature committed by England, and the offensive help given by Brazil to the Confederacy, there is some palliation for the act of Commander Collins, nor can it be believed that our Government was really displeased with the man who thus infringed the law of nations. The *Florida* was taken into Hampton Roads, where, while awaiting decision as to the legality of her seizure, she was run into by a steam transport and sunk. It was claimed that this was accidental, and possibly it was.

J. N. MAFFITT

The story of the *Sea King*, afterwards the *Shenandoah*, who flung to the breeze for the last time the stars and bars, is so interesting that we will give it in full, as told by Dr. F. J. McNulty, of Boston, who was an officer on the Confederate cruiser:

The Story of the Shenandoah"

"On the evening of the 8th day of October, 1864," said he, "there met on the Prince's Dock, Liverpool, twenty-seven men. They were nearly unacquainted with each other, and knew nothing of their destination. All were officers of the Confederate navy, by commission or warrant, and each had his distinct order to report at this place at the same hour. My commission was that of assistant surgeon. A tug was waiting, and we were hurried upon its deck with great haste. In the stream lay the steam blockade-runner *Laurel*. In the shortest time imaginable we were hustled on board this craft and were standing down the stream. At the same hour, casting off her lines from her London docks and moving down the Thames with her

grim dogs of war concealed between her decks, ostensibly a merchantman and bound for Bombay, sailed the English ship *Sea King*. One week later the ships met in the harbor of Funchal, Madeira. But the captain of the port ordering us out of his waters in the name of his sovereign of Portugal, we raised anchor and found an offing beside the three great Desertas, massive rocks that rise out of the blue bosom of the Atlantic. Here the ships were lashed together, and the *Sea King* received from the *Laurel*, which was loaded deep, arms, ordnance, and coal sufficient for an extended voyage of a man-of-war.

The Change of Names

"This done, the crews of both vessels were ordered on board the *Sea King*, when James I. Waddell, going down into her cabin, soon reappeared on deck clad in full uniform and bearing the side-arms of a Confederate naval captain. Holding his commission for such office in his hand, he read it to the assembled crews and closed in a brief address, declaring that this ship, late the *Sea King* of England, should now and forever be known as the Confederate States war-ship *Shenandoah;* that her object should be to prey upon and destroy the commerce of the United States; and that all of either crew, the *Laurel's* or the *Sea King's*, who wished to enlist their lives and services in the defence of the Confederate cause on board this ship might now do so.

"Immediately after this the lashings were cast off and guns of salute in parting fired by the two vessels. The *Laurel* turned her prow to England and we to the South Seas. Never before was ship beset by difficulties apparently so insurmountable. Demanding a complement of one hundred and sixty men, we bore away that day a ship-of-war with forty-seven men all told. Although liable at any hour to meet the challenge shot of the enemy, we entered upon our duties without fear. There was work for every man to do, and every man put his heart in his task. Boxes, trunks, casks of beef and bread, coal and ordnance, lay promiscuously about the deck and below. Then, when, after days of toil with blistered hands, all was stored properly below, and while the carpenter and his mates cut port-holes for the guns, the captain took his trick at the wheel, and officers and men, regardless of rank, barefooted and with trousers rolled up, scrubbed and holystoned decks. Yet in that strangely gathered body of men was some of the best blood of the South. Historic names were there. Lieutenant Lee, son of Admiral Lee,

Early Difficulties

THE "SHENANDOAH" BURNING A WHALER

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FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY WARREN SHEPPARD

commandant of the Philadelphia Navy-Yard at the opening of the war, and nephew of Gen. Robert E. Lee, was our third lieutenant, and had seen service on the *Georgia* and *Florida*. Our chief engineer and our paymaster were from the *Alabama*, and every commissioned officer was a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis and had seen previous service.

The Construction of the "Shendoah"

"The *Shenandoah* was built of teak, an Indian wood. She had quarter-inch iron plating, as well as iron knees and stanchions. Of 1,160 tons English register, 320 feet in length, and 32 in breadth, her average speed was thirteen knots, though, when entirely under sail, with propeller unshipped and sails up, she often outdid this. At one time, sailing down the Indian Ocean, she made for four consecutive hours the high average rate of eighteen knots.

"The morning of October 29th was clear and bright, and was made memorable by our first visitors on board. The stranger showed chase, but quickly changed his mind when a hustling shot across his bows said, 'Do come and see us,' the first of fifty pressing invitations. Of this vessel's complement of ten men, eight joined our crew. After our first capture, sailing steadily to the South Seas, and destroying a ship nearly every other day, on the evening of November 15th we were on the Equator. Here his most saline and anciently enthroned Majesty came on board, and brought with him his numerous retinue, and the ceremony of becoming naturalized citizens of the deep had to be submitted to, many of the officers, including the assistant surgeon, undergoing the tonsorial brushing-up of old Neptune. In these warm Southern waters, with a clear sky and little to do—our quota of men was now nearly made up—the hours seemed like links of sunshine. In the enchantment of the bright dream one would forget at times that our occupation was less than peace. Then

Like "Links of Sunshine"

suddenly a sail would be descried, and all would be bustle, topsails would be shaken out, and, forging ahead, our gun would ring out the iron voice of war. The lowering of a flag and transferring of a crew would follow, and then in flame would go up to the blue sky one more of the enemy's ships, leaving a blot in the memory of an otherwise cloudless tropical day.

"On the 27th of December we made the harbor of the island of Tristan de Acunha, the principal of a group of islands in the South Atlantic. In its seventeen families nearly all the principal nations are represented. Here we landed our prisoners and left them a three

months' supply of provisions. Fortunately for us, we made a short stop at this island, for afterwards, when in Europe, we were told that just twelve hours after we had left the harbor the United States man-of-war *Iroquois* steamed in, and hurriedly taking on board the prisoners, weighed anchor and stood for Cape Town, a favorite rendezvous of the *Alabama*. Happily we were bound for Melbourne, and did not stand near the cape in doubling it. On the 25th day of January, 1865, we entered the port of Melbourne. Never was conquering flag at peak hailed with half such honors as were given us upon that bright tropical morning. Steamer, tug-boat, yacht—all Melbourne, in fact, with its one hundred and eighty thousand souls, seemed to have outdone itself in welcome to the Confederates. Flags dipped, cannon boomed, and men by the thousand cheered as we moved slowly up the channel and dropped anchor. The telegraph had told of our coming from down the coast, where we had been sighted with Confederate flag flying, and the English papers had said that the great Semmes was on board. Evidently the heart of colonial Britain was in our cause. Our stay in Melbourne was one round of pleasure and honor. We were given free rides on the railroads to any point. From commander down to gray-back, all had their free passes. The wealthiest clubs in Melbourne elected us honorary members. Barry Sullivan, then playing 'Othello,' gave us an especial night, when with true British gusto the flaring bills read, 'under the distinguished patronage of the officers of the Confederate steamship *Shenandoah*.' There we looked down upon an auditorium packed to suffocation as we sat in the royal box. One hundred miles away, at Ballarat, a red-letter day was set apart for our reception. Only seven of us could attend. The entire town turned out to greet us, and across the main street, on a triumphal arch of flowers, were the letters, 'Welcome to Ballarat.'

Honors at Melbourne

"At length, on the 28th of February, we put to sea, with our full complement of men, and on the 1st of April entered the harbor of Ascension Island. Here in this little, almost land-locked harbor, were four whalers, and after the bare-legged king of the islands had condescended to say where he wished them sunk so as not to destroy good anchorage in his harbor, we set fire to and scuttled the fleet. Great events were going on then at home, but we were oblivious of their occurrence. With prow to the north we found ourselves, on the 27th of May, in the Okhotsk Sea, off the coast of Kamchatka.

The Work of Destruction

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

Here we destroyed the ship *Abigail*, of New Bedford. We sailed into Behring Sea, and, chasing a bark which proved to be the *Robert Downs*, an Englishman with a Russian flag flying, we answered to his call that we were the *Prince Petropoliski*, bound for a cruise. Our boatswain, a broad Milesian with a touch of Sclav upon his tongue, was our spokesman, therefore it was easy to imagine how this name must have sounded through the trumpet from such an anti-Russian source.

The Greatest Day's Work

"On the 27th of June, after destroying much shipping in Behring Sea, we captured the *Susan Abigail*, twenty-eight days from San Francisco. Then, for the first time, we heard that the war was over. But as the captain could show no proof, not even a newspaper, we set it down as a smart Yankee trick, thought of to save his ship. On the 5th of July occurred our greatest day's work—perhaps the greatest destruction ever served upon an enemy in a single day by one ship. The morning came heavy and thick with fog. Suddenly across our bows swept something: in the fog we thought we could outline a ship. A gun brought to a bark. Soon her flaming form broke upon the fog and told her fate. She had nearly run us down in the thickness of the weather. The fog now rising disclosed a wide bay or homestead, in which were anchored with their sails half furled a large fleet of whaling vessels of every rig. They were mostly from New Bedford. Before entering upon our work we counted them; there were eleven. Soon the work of demand, surrender, debarkation, and conflagration began. Two were saved and bonded to take home the other crews. Then followed the torch and auger. Never before had these far latitudes beheld such a dread scene of devastation as this, as ship after ship went up in flame. We had been ordered to wipe out the whaling marine of the enemy, and now, after the government that had so ordered had been itself destroyed, we, unwittingly, were dealing the enemy our hardest blows—not our enemy, if we knew the facts, and we were making of ourselves the enemy of mankind.

Startling News

"Re-entering the Arctic seas we cruised some days without success. Then turning back to Behring Sea, we pointed our prow to the south. The second day of August was clear and bright, and the sea smooth. The cry of 'A sail!' brought all minds to attention. But, alas! it was not to revive the old scenes. The *Shenandoah* had done her last work, and the now on-coming craft was to bring to us

tidings of consternation and despair. She showed the English flag, but this to us was a small matter. Half our prizes had done this. Her double-topsail yards (a Yankee rig) were thought sufficient identity. She proved, however, to be the English ship *Barracoutta*, two days out from San Francisco. Her captain informed our boarding officer that the war was over, and produced New York and San Francisco papers, telling us for the first time of the great and closing scenes of the fearful drama: the surrender of Lee, the capture of Richmond, the assassination of Lincoln, and the final collapse of the Confederacy. Quick as thought, Captain Waddell now swung his guns between decks, closed the port-holes, and the *Shenandoah* was again a craft of peace. A council of officers was now held to decide what course to pursue. The opinion of each was asked and given. Some were in favor of sailing to Melbourne, others for Valparaiso or New Zealand. Captain Waddell, although in the minority, decided in favor of Liverpool. We had no flag and no country, but we had sailed from England, and to England we would now return. We were not aware that from one of the bonded ships which we had sent to San Francisco with the crews of herself and others had gone the word by telegraph to Washington of our depredations, and that President Johnston had issued a proclamation of outlawry against us.

No Flag and No Country

"The crew of the *Shenandoah* were now all called aft, and Captain Waddell in a brief address told them of our altered condition, and of his decision to sail to Liverpool. The men gave three cheers for their commander, and pressed forwards to their duties with a will, while the ship's prow was pointed to Cape Horn. On our way we sighted many ships. Some nearing us would send up signals, but would receive no answer. We had lost our voice and manners with our occupation, and all we thought of now was to get to the other side of this terrestrial globe as soon as possible. We had but seven days' coal supply, and must husband this for an emergency. It came in rounding Cape Horn, when we were obliged by stress of weather to fall upon its use. We now laid our course for our destination, and every day was closing in the miles that separated us from our fate. On the 5th of November land was descried. Up from the water rose the rugged Welsh hills. Now the clear headlands of Anglesey, rising high out of St. George's Channel, stood more near, and a pilot swept alongside. He asks us to show our flag. We say we have no flag. Then answers this servant of the nations: 'I cannot go on

Heading for Liverpool

board your ship.' A hurried consultation—an anxious exchange of inquiring looks—what shall we do now—we have but one flag—shall we raise it? It was the flag to which we had sworn allegiance. Shall we lift it once more to the breeze, in defiance to the world, if needs be, and, defying all, be constant to that cause which we had sworn to maintain until we knew there was no Confederacy, and that ours in truth was a lost cause? 'We will!' say all hearts, with one acclaim, 'and let this pilot or any other refuse to recognize us if they will.' Then, for the last time, was brought up from its treasured place below the sacred banner of the fair South, to wave its last defiant wave and flap its last ensanguined flap against the winds of fate, before going forever upon the page of history. The grim old sea-dog, tossing in his boat at stern, beholds go up the outlawed banner! He calls for a line, swings himself over the old war-ship's side, and up the Mersey, thirteen months after the departure from the Thames, and just six months, lacking four days, after the war ended, sailed the Confederate ship *Shenandoah*.

The Outlawed Banner

"Half-way up the river a fleet of English men-of-war lay anchored in the channel. The pilot was directed to bring his vessel to anchor alongside the flagship, Her Majesty's frigate *Donegal*, Captain Painter. Surrendering to that officer, Captain Waddell immediately despatched a note to Earl Russell, at that time premier, stating his situation, that at the close of hostilities he was engaged in open war far away from any means of communication with the world, and that as soon as he was informed of the tide of events he had headed his ship for England; that it would have been imprudent for him to have sailed for a United States port, having only a newspaper report of the close of hostilities. Uncertain what to do, he had sailed for England. He did not feel that he could destroy his ship or give her over to any nation but to the United States, into whose hands by the fortune of war all other property of the late Confederacy had fallen. He had sought for light in the books at his command, but could find none. History, he thought, left him no precedent. Three days of intense suspense followed, when we were informed that all who answered, to the question, 'What nationality?' and should answer, 'Southerner,' should be entitled to leave the ship. Of course all answered as they were instructed, and officers and crew parted as they had met on that Liverpool dock thirteen months before.

Without a Precedent

"The ship was turned over to the United States consul at Liver-

THE "ALABAMA" ATTACKING A MERCHANTMAN

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pool, who tried to send her to America, but failed. Three days out she encountered a heavy storm and returned in a battered condition. After some months lying elephant-like on the hands of the American Government, she was sold at auction to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who used her as a pleasure craft. But some years later she foundered with all on board."

Going Too Far

Confederate agents went a little too far when they declared that two powerful ironclads which they were building in Great Britain were intended for the Emperor of China. The United States threatened to declare war if these were allowed to go to sea, and the frightened British Government at the last moment seized them.

It remains to give the history of the most famous of all the Confederate cruisers, the *Alabama*. As in other cases, Minister Adams laid before the British Government unquestionable proof that she was intended to destroy Northern commerce, a fact which secured her the best wishes of the aristocracy of England. She was allowed to sail, July 29, 1862. About two weeks later she arrived at the Azores, where an English bark transferred to her all that she needed in the way of stores, guns, and ammunition. Then another British steamer came along with Captain Semmes and his officers and crew, most of whom were Englishmen. Her career as a Confederate cruiser began August 24, 1862.

The "Alabama"

The *Alabama* used steam and sail, and under the propulsion of both could make fifteen knots an hour. Crossing the Atlantic, she burned twenty American vessels, and in November stopped at Martinique, where a British vessel was on hand with a full supply of coal. The United States sloop *San Jacinto* arrived and waited for the *Alabama* to appear outside, but Semmes eluded her in the darkness.

On October 11, 1863, at about noon, what seemed to be a three-masted schooner or bark was sighted by the blockading squadron off Galveston. The *Hatteras*, a weak, side-wheel steamer, with machinery fully exposed, was signalled to run down the stranger, who thereupon made sail as if trying to escape. Some time later Commander Homer C. Blake, of the *Hatteras*, discovered that the fugitive was a steamer, whose apparent efforts to get away met with so slight success that he suspected she was not so anxious to escape as she seemed to be. By and by the stranger hove to and waited for the *Hatteras* to come up. In reply to Blake's hail, the answer was

returned that the vessel was the British ship *Petrel*. Blake ordered a boat aboard the stranger, but it had hardly started when the startling words came across the water: "This is the Confederate States steamer *Alabama!*" The next message was a broadside. Captain Blake's guns were so inferior that his only hope was in boarding, but Semmes easily outmanœuvred the frail vessel and sent his heavy shells crashing into the *Hatteras* with so deadly effect that in less than fifteen minutes she was shattered, on fire, and in a sinking condition. The moment the white flag was run up, the *Alabama* lowered her boats and devoted every energy to saving the men, who were landed at Port Royal, Jamaica.

Work of the Alabama

There was so much sameness in the work done by this cruiser that a detailed account would not be interesting. Our Government did everything possible to destroy or capture her. Armed vessels were searching up and down the seas, and the *Alabama* had more than one narrow escape; but the ocean continued to be lit up by the glare of her burning prizes, until it seemed as if the United States commerce would be totally destroyed by this ruthless cruiser.

The "Kearsarge"

On Sunday morning, June 12, 1864, the United States sloop-of war *Kearsarge*, Captain John A. Winslow, lay off Flushing, Holland, when a telegram was taken out to Captain Winslow. It was from William L. Dayton, the American minister to France, and stated that the *Alabama* had arrived in Cherbourg the day before. Hurriedly making his preparations, Captain Winslow appeared off the port on Tuesday, where he saw the Confederate flag fluttering in the breeze from the *Alabama*, which was within the breakwater. Had the *Kearsarge* entered the port, she would have been subjected to the rule which compelled her to wait twenty-four hours after the departure of the cruiser. So Winslow stationed himself off shore, closely watching the *Alabama*, and determined that she should not escape again.

But this vigilance was not necessary, for Captain Semmes had made up his mind to challenge the Union ship to battle. A note to that effect was sent by Semmes to Captain Winslow, who replied that he had come thither for the express purpose of fighting the *Alabama*.

Captain Winslow's fear was that the cruiser if defeated would try to run into neutral waters, where she could not be pursued. He decided, therefore, not to begin the fight until several miles from

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

shore. He and his officers resolved that in no event would they surrender, but, if the worst came, would go down with colors flying.

The vessels were as nearly equal in strength as possible. The armament of the *Kearsarge* was two 11-inch pivot-guns, four 32-

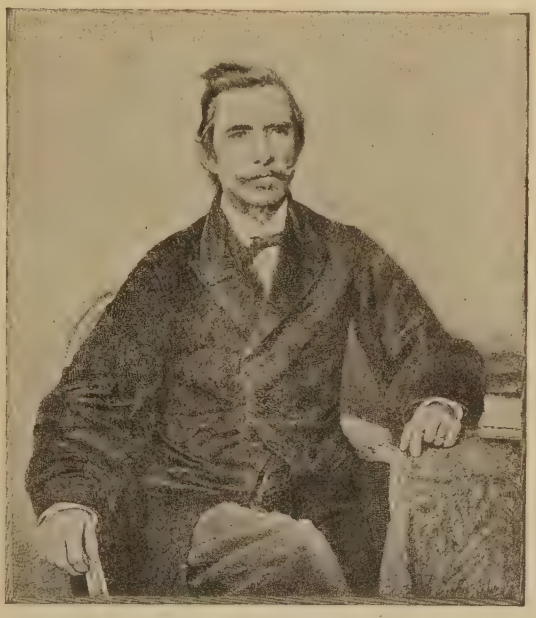
JOHN A. WINSLOW

Armament of the Two Vessels

pounders, and one rifled 30-pounder. These seven guns had a total shot weight of 430 pounds. The *Alabama* had one 100-pounder Blakely gun, one 8-inch shell gun, and six 32-pounders, a total of eight guns carrying 360 pounds shot weight. The battle, however, was fought with the starboard batteries of each ship, the *Kearsarge*

using only five guns, and the *Alabama* seven. The crew of the Union vessel numbered 163 men; the Confederate, 149.

Captain Semmes was confident of winning, but he meant to run no chances that could be avoided. He took several days to make his preparations, during which Captain Winslow was equally busy in the same direction.



RAPHAEL SEMMES

Between ten and eleven o'clock on Sunday, June 19th, the *Alabama* steamed out of the harbor, and the *Kearsarge* cleared her decks for action. Fully fifteen thousand people were gathered on shore to watch the battle, excursion trains from Paris having brought many to the spot. Probably the sympathy of nine out of every ten persons was ardently in favor of the Confederate. Since among the spectators were a number of masters of merchant vessels that had been destroyed by the *Alabama*, the members of the American minister's family, and other Union lovers, it need not be said in what direction *their* sympathies ran.

It looked as if the *Kearsarge* was running away from her antagonist, for after passing the three-mile limit she kept on for nearly four miles more. Then she turned about and made directly for the *Alabama*, which sheered and delivered three broadsides that inflicted trifling damage in the rigging of her opponent. Captain Winslow rounded to, and at a distance of nine hundred yards fired his broadside of five-second shells, trying at the same time to pass under the *Alabama's* stern, but Semmes turned so as to frustrate him.

Accuracy of the Union Firing

The efforts of each vessel to keep its starboard broadside towards

the other gave to both a circular motion. They made seven complete revolutions, gradually drawing nearer each other until they were about a quarter of a mile apart. The fire of the *Kearsarge* was much more accurate, and at the end of half an hour, as the *Alabama* was entering upon her eighth circuit, Captain Semmes realized that she could float but a short time longer.

Sinking of the "Alabama"

Winslow was on the watch, ran across her bow, and was about to deliver a raking fire, when Captain Semmes lowered his flag. Uncertain whether it had been shot away or hauled down, and suspecting a trick, by which the *Alabama* hoped to reach neutral waters, Winslow stopped firing but remained on the alert. A fluttering white banner, however, removed all doubt, and Captain Winslow made ready to give assistance. Suddenly the *Alabama* renewed her fire, and the *Kearsarge* replied with several guns.

But the famous cruiser was going down, and the boats of the *Kearsarge* were hurriedly sent to the help of the drowning men. The stern settled, the bow rose high in air, the immense ship plunged out of sight, and the career of the *Alabama* was ended forever.

At this moment a boat arrived at the side of the *Kearsarge*, asking for help. Under the promise of Master's-Mate Fullam, an Englishman, who had it in charge, to return to the *Kearsarge*, Winslow allowed him to go back to the assistance of his comrades, but he broke his pledge and took refuge on the English yacht *Deerhound*, which came up about this time. Captain Winslow asked the latter to help in the work of humanity. She picked up forty-two, but, instead of bringing them to the *Kearsarge*, as honor required, the *Deerhound* put on all steam and carried them to Southampton. A demand was made on the British Government for their return, but the demand was refused.

Escape of Capt. Semmes

Just before the *Alabama* sank, Captain Semmes flung his sword into the sea and leaped overboard with the rest. His hand had been hurt and caused him intense pain while in the water. He was among those picked up by the *Deerhound*, the others being rescued by the two boats of the *Kearsarge*, which put into Cherbourg.

No naval battle during the late war has caused so much discussion as that between the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama*. Something in the nature of an analysis is therefore necessary. The *Kearsarge* was

Sinking of the "Alabama."

Warren Sheppard.

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struck twenty-eight times. A 68-pound shell penetrated the starboard bulwark, and exploded on the quarter-deck, wounding three men, one mortally. Another shell started a fire in the hammock nettings, which was speedily put out. The damage done by the other shot which struck the vessel was trifling. The *Alabama* fired three hundred and seventy shots in all.

Comparison of the Firing

Now, observe the remarkable superiority of the *Kearsarge* in her accuracy of firing. She discharged one hundred and seventy-three missiles, and nearly every one hit the *Alabama*. Only one man was killed on the Union vessel, while the Confederate had nine killed, twenty-one wounded, and ten drowned.

An unjust charge against the *Kearsarge*, made by Semmes, was that she was practically an armored vessel, on account of her use of anchor-chains to protect her machinery. In his report made from Southampton, two days after the fight, to Mr. Mason, Semmes said: "Her midship section on both sides was thoroughly iron-coated, this having been done with chain constructed for the purpose, placed perpendicularly from the rail to the water's edge, the whole covered over by a thin outer planking, which gave no indication of the armor beneath. This planking had been ripped off in every direction by our shot and shell, the chain broken and indented in many places, and forced partly into the ship's side." He added that "the enemy was much damaged in other parts, but to what extent it is now impossible to tell; it is believed he was badly crippled."

Semmes' Charges

This extract from Semmes's official report throws light upon his value as an authority on this battle, and also on the wisdom of those who have followed his account at the present day instead of the modest and truthful story told by his conqueror. Along the midship section of the side of the *Kearsarge* the chains belonging to her sheet anchor were hung outside and covered with light boards to prevent dirt. "They were stopped to eyebolts by the crew, and when wanted were taken off and bent to the anchors. The object of stowing the sheet chains thus was to protect the boilers from rifle shot when the coal was consumed in the bunkers. This was the case at the time of the action. The *Alabama* had all her bunkers full and did not need this shield, but she could have adopted the same plan with her own chains had it been chosen." This is the account of the matter given by Captain Winslow, who asks no praise for his skilful device. Semmes says that the so-called chain armor was "con-

structed for the purpose," whereas, as has been seen, it was the ordinary chain made for the anchor, similar to what Semmes himself would have found in his own chain locker had he thought of it and needed it.

Injustice of Semmes' Accusations

Again, Semmes declared that this chain had been "broken and indented in many places," and the planking also "ripped off in every direction by our shot and shell." As a fact, only two shot struck the chains, one being a shot and one a shell from a 32-pounder. These broke the chain; and yet that it had no influence on the battle even as to these two shots is clear, since, as Captain Winslow says, "they would not have perforated the ship's sides. The same shot forward of the chain had not gone through. The 100-pound rifle would no doubt have done better"; but no shot from that rifle struck the chains.

Thus it is proved beyond a doubt that the protection afforded by the chains had no influence at all on the result of the battle. This does not diminish the credit which belongs to Winslow and to his executive Thornton for their excellent device. As the British *Army and Navy Gazette* of that day said: "The palm of care and skill must be adjudged to Captain Winslow and his first lieutenant"; and it proposed that, if the result was what Semmes asserted, "the Admiralty should try the effect of such a cheap defence of nations on their wooden walls." The covering of the chain, even if for purposes of deception instead of trimness, would of course be a legitimate device; but unquestionable authority shows that the one-inch deal boards had been put on as a finish, a year before, at the Azores, and no secret had been made of it. However, as Professor Soley says in his conclusive review of the affair, Semmes "understood perfectly the course of public sentiment in England, and when it appeared that an English-built vessel, with English guns, and a crew of Englishmen had been thoroughly beaten and sunk in an hour by Americans in an American ship with American guns, the ironclad theory received ready acceptance, and was held to account sufficiently for that phenomenal occurrence."

The Facts in the Case

If, however, the one hundred and twenty fathoms of sheet chain placed on the side of the *Kearsarge* in the wake of the engines had nothing to do with her victory, to what was the result owing? The answer is that the American battery was better than the British, and, above all, the American crew showed superior gunnery practice.

The ships were closely matched in size, the tonnage of the *Kearsarge* under the old system of measurement being 1,031, against 1,016 for the *Alabama*, but on those measurements the American builders had got a little better speed for their vessel.

Next, as has been shown, the *Kearsarge* carried rather the larger complement, 163, against the *Alabama's* 149; but that difference of fourteen men was not material in accounting for the victory. We reach a more important point in noticing that while the British and American systems had each given to its vessel what was considered the most effective armament for a craft of that size, the American was the better.

The Respective Crews

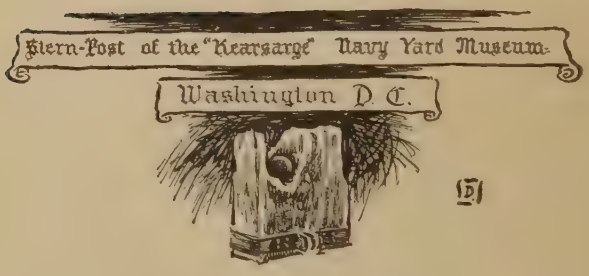
But now we come to the real key to the combat. The *Alabama* was outfought by the American vessel from beginning to end. She opened fire with nearly a raking broadside at a distance of a mile. The *Kearsarge* simply pushed on at full speed, took a second broadside, and then part of a third, until, when only nine hundred yards away, she sheered and opened with her starboard battery. She then endeavored to pass astern of the *Alabama* and rake her, the result being that the two vessels circled about a common circle, keeping broadside to broadside, making seven complete revolutions. Thus the duel took on the character of a contest between gunners. A large number of Semmes's crew were Englishmen, several of them having served in men-of-war, and a few were Naval Reserve men; but whereas they had had little practice in target firing, having been compelled, perhaps, to husband their ammunition, Captain Winslow's men understood that part of their business thoroughly. Professor Soley says that the firing of the Englishmen at the beginning was rapid and wild, though it became steadier towards the close.

Superiority of the Kearsarge's Seamanship

"The crew of the *Kearsarge*, on the other hand, under the thorough training of Thornton, her efficient executive, made excellent practice, firing with deliberateness and precision. They had been instructed to point the heavy guns rather below than above the waterline, leaving it to the 32-pounders to sweep the decks. The two 11-inch guns, and especially the after gun, played havoc with the enemy. The two ships gradually neared in their revolutions, until they were only five or six hundred yards apart. At this distance the 100-pounder rifle of that day was no match for the heavier smooth bores in an engagement between wooden vessels, and the sides of the

Alabama were torn out by shells and her decks covered with killed and wounded. The crew of her after pivot-gun was renewed four times during the action, and nearly every man that had served it was disabled." *

* Profound regret was felt throughout the country by the loss of the *Kearsarge*, February 2, 1894, while on her way from Port au Prince, Hayti, to Bluefields, Nicaragua. She was wrecked on Roncador Reef, and her men rescued eight days later. The colors of the Kearsarge were recovered, and on the thirtieth anniversary of the battle (June 19, 1894) were presented to the representative of the Navy Department in the New York Exchange, during which ceremony all business was suspended.



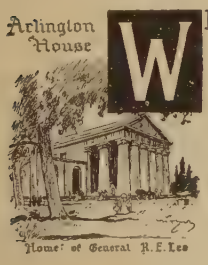
SHERMAN'S FORAGERS ON A GEORGIA PLANTATION

Confederate troops destroying railroads

CHAPTER LXXV

EVENTS OF 1864 (CONTINUED)—SHERMAN'S CAMPAIGN FROM CHATTANOOGA TO ATLANTA

[*Authorities:* One is reminded of the March of the Ten Thousand Greeks, in aid of Cyrus the Younger, by Sherman's "March to the Sea." In both cases there is severance from the base of supplies, with the accompanying necessity of living from what can be gathered from the country through which they are passing. Sherman's mission, however, was for the purpose of destruction. The principal source from which the South derived the supplies necessary to carry on the war was the State of Georgia. The main purpose of his march was to destroy the mills, factories, and foundries whence these supplies came. He did his work well. Not only were the industries and railroads of Georgia destroyed, but many of her towns and cities. That State had so far enjoyed immunity from the immediate horrors of war, but they were then meted out to her in fullest measure. No work of deliberated destruction was ever more thoroughly performed. The special references for this chapter are Sherman's Memoirs and the various histories of the Civil War.]



WHEN the Mississippi was opened, the Southern Confederacy was split apart, but the division was into unequal portions. That lying west of the Father of Waters possessed but a fraction of the population and strength of the States to the eastward. The opening of the river was like the amputation of a limb from an oak. The sturdy trunk remained. It was now determined to cut that right through the core, and then the oak must die.

General Sherman was a thoroughly trained soldier, and when it was decided that he should advance from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and thence straight through the Confederacy to the Atlantic coast, his preparations for the great undertaking were deliberate and perfect. Chattanooga and Nashville were made the bases of the army, supplies being sent to the former from the latter. The railways were given

up wholly to the military service, and when May came there were 100,000 Union soldiers and 254 guns in and around Chattanooga.

Johnston's Policy

General Johnston, the Confederate leader, had planned an invasion of Kentucky and Tennessee, but he now abandoned it and devoted every energy to obstructing the advance of Sherman. Johnston was too weak to risk a general engagement until some natural advantage could be gained, and the Union army was a long way from its base of operations. Johnston's plan was the only feasible one under the circumstances, but those in the South, who could not understand his good generalship, were dissatisfied, and President Davis had another excuse for finding fault with the man whom he had disliked for years. None the less, however, Johnston kept to his policy.

Sherman swung out of Chattanooga on the 7th of May, at the very time that Grant's and Lee's armies were struggling in the Wilderness. Johnston's army occupied a range of hills, through which runs the pass known as Buzzards' Roost, connecting Dalton and Resaca. The Confederate position was too strong to be attacked in front, and Sherman decided to flank it.

The Union forces were composed of the Army of the Cumberland under Thomas, that of the Tennessee under McPherson, and that of the Ohio under Schofield. Sherman sent McPherson twenty miles to the southwest to threaten the rear of the enemy, while the main forces advanced against the front. Thomas occupied Tunnel Hill, and one of the lower ridges of the Confederate position was carried, but an attack upon the crest was repulsed with severe loss.

Retreat of Johnston

McPherson advanced against Resaca, which was too strong to be attacked, and being in danger of a flank movement, he fell back and took a strong position. Determined that Johnston should be flanked, Sherman advanced his whole army through Snake Creek Gap, May 12th, and McPherson marched towards Resaca with Kilpatrick's cavalry in advance. A sharp fight took place, but the Confederates were driven within their fortifications. Desperate fighting followed, but Johnston held his position, and flanking was again resorted to. McPherson threatened the bridges, and the cavalry reached the railways at his rear. No choice being left, Johnston crossed the river on the night of May 15th, and retreated to Etowah, forty miles south of Resaca.

Sherman followed, his division under Jefferson C. Davis turning to the southwest and capturing Rome, while the main army kept up

W. T. Sherman

the pursuit of the Confederates, who crossed to the southern side of the Etowah and assumed position in the Allatoona pass of the Etowah Mountains.

The course taken by Sherman was perilous in every sense, for he was now a hundred miles from his starting-point, where all the inhabitants were bitterly hostile, and the Confederate leader in his front was one of the best of military commanders. His soldiers were veterans, and he was on the alert to take instant advantage of any error on the part of the Union leader, who was equally watchful against making any blunder—a truth that Johnston learned when he assaulted the Union centre at the Etowah and was repulsed. Whenever it was seen that Johnston was about to make a demonstration, Sherman brought the three divisions together and prepared for battle.

Sherman's Perilous Course

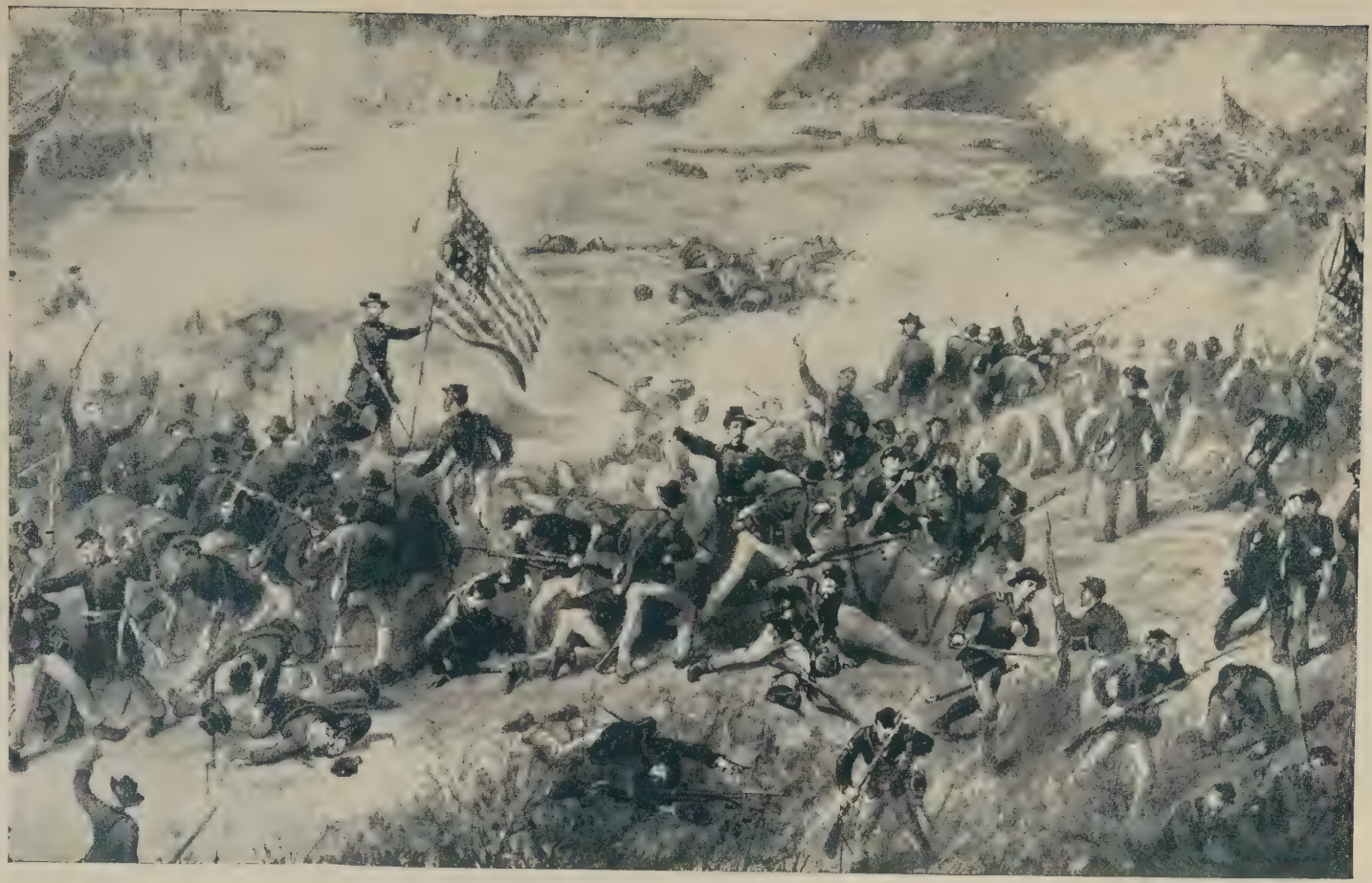
A delay of several days followed, the opposing armies closely watching each other. On May 23d Sherman crossed the Etowah and advanced against Dallas. The country was wild and mountainous, and there was almost continuous skirmishing between detachments of the armies. McPherson was attacked with great vehemence, but he flung off his assailants and inflicted severe loss.

Being flanked once more, Johnston was forced back, and June 4th the road was open to Ackworth. Sherman received a reenforcement there, and established a fortified position in his rear at Allatoona Pass. Johnston was strongly intrenched along a wooded ridge, and Sherman spent several days searching for the weakest point in the enemy's line. Believing that he had located it, he attacked, and, after furious fighting, compelled Johnston to give up his position and to withdraw within shorter lines. During the severe fighting, June 14th, Gen. Leonidas Polk, a bishop in the Episcopal Church of Louisiana, had his head carried away by a cannon-ball.

Several days passed, when on the 23d Johnston attacked Hooker and Schofield, but without success. Since the Union advance so far had been nothing more than a series of flank movements, Sherman, instead of keeping it up, as he should have done, determined to hasten matters by a direct attack on the enemy.

Battle at Kenesaw Mountain

This attack was made June 27th at Kenesaw Mountain, and it was conducted with great skill and gallantry, but Sherman was repulsed with the loss of three thousand men. It was a severe lesson, but he heeded it, and resorted to his former tactics, moving his right



THE BATTLE OF ATLANTA

towards the Chattahoochee, thereby threatening the enemy's communications with Atlanta. Johnston fell back five miles behind Marietta and took a new position, only to be forced again, July 4th, to cross the Chattahoochee and intrench himself.

Sherman now carried out a brilliant piece of strategy. While his cavalry were destroying the flour-mills and cloth factories in the

SHERMAN AND HIS STAFF

neighborhood, he obtained the mastery of the Chattahoochee close to the right flank of the enemy. By means of pontoon bridges, a part of the Union army was quickly transferred to the eastern bank, and Johnston was obliged to take refuge in the defences of Atlanta.

Johnston's Fine Generalship

To a superficial observer, it appeared as if Johnston had undergone a continued series of defeats, and was in a worse position than ever; but military authorities agree that no man could have displayed better generalship. His force was much inferior to that of his opponent, but not once was Johnston surprised nor did he make a false movement. Forced backwards by his heavier antagonist, he presented a bold front, and, while saving his men, struck more than one hard blow at Sherman, who was steadily drawing away from his base

of supplies, and, by penetrating deeper into an enemy's country, increasing the advantage of the Confederate army.

Georgia was one of the wealthiest and most prosperous States in the South, and, while nearly all the rest of the Confederacy had been desolated by the contending armies, she had not yet suffered. Atlanta had become the centre of railway communication and trade between the Western States and those on the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. It contained immense iron-works, and a number of manufactories of arms, shot and shell, gun-carriages, and military clothing for the Confederate government. Its value to the latter was immeasurable, and the danger of its loss caused the gravest anxiety in Richmond.

Value of Atlanta to the Confederacy

When Johnston took position in Atlanta, he had fifty thousand veterans under his command, and Governor Brown, of Georgia, promised him ten thousand militia within ten days. The Confederate leader was now at bay, and his hopes of effectually blocking the further progress of the Union army were high.

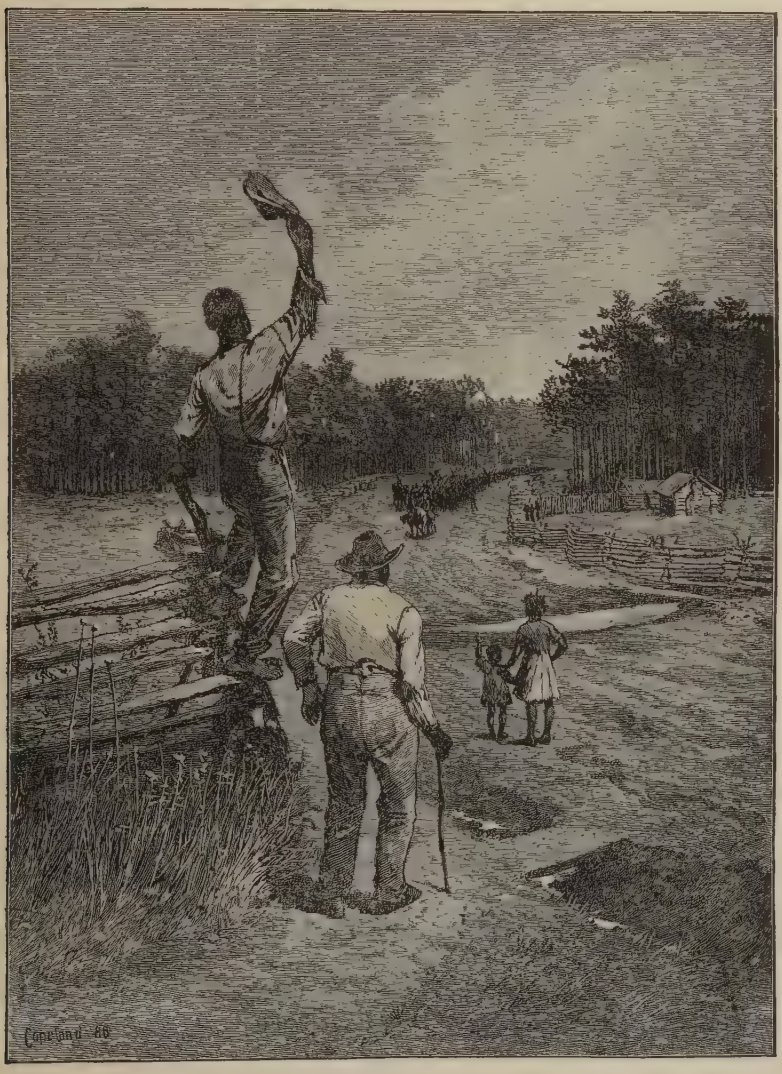
Thus matters stood, when, on the 17th of July, Johnston received orders to turn over his command to General Hood. To no one was this change of commanders more welcome than to Sherman. Hood was brave to rashness, and his appointment meant that fighting was to take the place of retreating. "This was just what we wanted," said Sherman; "that is, to fight upon open ground, on anything like equal terms, instead of being forced to run up against prepared intrenchments; but at the same time, the enemy, having Atlanta behind him, could choose the time and place of attack, and could at pleasure mass a superior force on our weakest points. Therefore we had to be constantly ready for sallies."

Supersedure of Johnston by Hood

Sherman was not the one to make a rash movement. He had lost a large number of men, and had left detachments at different points to guard the rear and keep open his railway communications with Chattanooga. He had to establish depots at Allatoona, Marietta, and other places, while the reenforcement from Corinth, Miss., was defeated and turned back by General Forrest.

Sherman determined to give his men a rest after their exhausting march. He telegraphed to General Rousseau at Decatur, Ala., to destroy the railway between that State and Georgia, and then, with his two thousand cavalry, to join the camp on the Chattahoochee. Rousseau did as directed, and arrived July 22d.

Two days before this, the three Union armies converged towards Atlanta. Thomas crossed a small branch of the Chattahoochee, and had one of his detachments assailed by Hood, who was driven back



THE DAY OF JUBILEE

into his intrenchments. The rest of the Union army having crossed, Sherman was in front of the defences of Atlanta, which extended for three miles about the city. They were not quite completed, and the

Confederates were still working at them. McPherson had occupied a hill to the left of the Union line, when his left flank was savagely attacked by Hood. While riding forwards to learn the situation, McPherson came within range of a party of skirmishers, by whom he was shot and mortally wounded. He was one of the best officers in the Union army, and his fall was a great loss. His command devolved for the time upon Gen. John A. Logan.

Death of McPherson

The Confederate attack was determined, the assault being made at three different points. The Federals lost a number of guns, and the wagon-train narrowly escaped capture. Sherman's timely reenforcement of the endangered points enabled them to drive back the enemy.

Sherman now set out to isolate Atlanta from the rest of the world. If he could close all the communications, the city must do as Vicksburg did. His first step towards cutting the railway lines was to occupy East Point, a small town five miles to the south, and at the junction of the West Point and Macon railroads. Sherman's movement consisted in swinging his right around Atlanta to the junction whence he would operate.

A powerful column of cavalry under Stoneman and a lesser one under McCook took different routes, with the understanding that they were to meet at Lovejoy's Station on the Macon railroad. Somebody blundered, and the junction did not take place. Each column was routed by a superior force, and among the large number of prisoners taken was General Stoneman himself. This disaster seriously weakened the cavalry arm of the Union army.

There was one thing that Hood could do, and that was fight, which was about all. On July 28th, he made another furious assault. The army of the Tennessee, formerly that of McPherson, was now commanded by Howard, and occupied an elevated ridge, which crosses one of the roads leading from Atlanta to the Chattahoochee. Hood attacked six times, only to be repulsed in each instance with heavy loss. Sherman's advantage enabled him to push his line about half way to East Point, but Hood still kept him from the railways.

Continuous Fighting

It was fighting all the time, with the advantage steadily inclining to the Unionists. In the first three conflicts Hood lost more men than Johnston had lost from Chattanooga to Atlanta. Sherman began a bombardment of the city. The terrified people crouched in their cellars and in the vaults of churches, but no one proposed to surrender.

FALL OF GENERAL J. B. McPHERSON, NEAR ATLANTA

To save his own communications, Hood now made the attempt to cut those of Sherman. General Wheeler, with forty-five hundred cavalry, was sent to destroy the railway leading from Marietta to Chattanooga, and which was the Union line of connection with the

THE POTTER HOUSE, NEAR ATLANTA

North. Wheeler captured some supplies and a number of cattle, and tore up a part of the line, which, however, was quickly repaired. General Steedman and his cavalry rode out from Chattanooga in pursuit of Wheeler, who took refuge in East Tennessee and then in Northern Alabama. As a factor in the campaign, that was the last of Wheeler.

Vanishment of Wheeler

Kilpatrick, who had been wounded at Resaca, rejoined the army and began the needed work of reorganizing the Union cavalry, which

had suffered many losses. Having made ready, he rode away, August 18th, to destroy all the Southern railways he could find.

Before Kilpatrick could do anything of importance, he was assailed by an overwhelming force of cavalry and infantry, and only succeeded after desperate fighting in breaking through the enemy's lines, and, by riding around his position, reaching Decatur four days later.

It now became clear to Sherman that he must use a larger part of his army to accomplish anything effective. He formed and carried out the brilliant plan of inducing Hood to come out of his intrenchments and risk everything in a decisive battle.

Sherman's Brilliant Plan

On the night of August 25th, two corps on the extreme left abandoned their intrenchments and marched to the southwest. Then other corps followed, and twelve miles of the West Point Railroad were destroyed. The rails were heated and twisted like corkscrews, and where they had once lain, the earth was dug out and filled with rocks and trees, with plentiful torpedoes between. The loss of Wheeler's cavalry prevented Hood from learning what Sherman was doing. The people in Atlanta were delighted, for they believed that the withdrawal of the Union troops meant the raising of the siege.

Several days later Hood discovered the danger which threatened his rear. Believing that only a small part of the Union army was wrecking the railway, he sent forwards the corps of Hardee and S. D. Lee to Jonesborough, near East Point, on the Macon railway. Shortly after General Howard arrived within a half mile of Jonesborough, and, upon finding the enemy intrenched, he began throwing up intrenchments. He was attacked, August 31st, but held his position.

Sherman was sleepless. He reenforced the lines where needed, and now planned to drive his army between the corps of Hardee and

A Partial Success

Lee on one side, and the remainder of Hood's army in Atlanta. Schofield was ordered to advance rapidly along the Macon railway, destroying it as he went, while Howard, with a corps of Thomas' army, was to attack Hardee in front, as the cavalry assailed his flank and rear. The plan met with only partial success, but a lodgment was effected within Hardee's lines. That officer, during the night, retreated to Lovejoy's Station, on the Macon railway, and began throwing up intrenchments.*

* One night, shortly before the death of General Sherman, the writer sat on the porch of the West Point hotel, listening to his description of this incident in the siege of

GEN. SHERMAN INSTRUCTING HIS AIDE TO DELIVER DISPATCHES TO GEN. GRANT.

The terrifying news spread through Atlanta, on the 1st of September, that Sherman was between Hardee and the city. When too late, Hood saw the fatal trap into which he had been led, and knew that his only hope was in getting out of the city at once. Hardee and Lee were in imminent peril, and the Union cavalry were likely to make a dash to Andersonville and release the forty thousand prisoners, many of whom were suffering the pangs of starvation there.

Evacuation of Atlanta

A portion of the military stores were loaded into wagons, and the rest were flung to the people or burned. The skies were lit up by the glare, and to the illumination thus furnished, Hood's army marched out of Atlanta, hundreds of citizens preferring to trail after the troops rather than stay and meet the invading Yankees.

The explosions of ordnance and the lighting up of the heavens led Sherman to suspect its meaning. General Slocum at daybreak sent forwards a strong reconnoitring column, which rode into Atlanta at nine o'clock on the morning of September 2d. The mayor appeared and formally surrendered the city. "Old Glory" went up to the top of the flagstaff on the court-house amid the cheers of the soldiers and to the strains of inspiring music. Atlanta, despite its gallant defence, was now a captive to the Union army.

Hood with his army joined Lee and Hardee at Lovejoy's Station, while Sherman, with his different divisions, encamped about the city. The news of its fall was immediately telegraphed to Washington, where it caused great rejoicing, as well as throughout the North. President Lincoln replied with the thanks of the nation to Sherman, his officers, and soldiers for the great work they had performed. A national salute was fired, and the 11th of September was appointed a day of thanksgiving for the successes of Farragut at Mobile and Sherman at Atlanta.

A Stern Order

General Sherman issued orders for the departure of all the people, male and female, except those in the employ of the government, as he intended to use Atlanta for military purposes. A proposal of ten days' truce was accepted by Hood, who declared the act one of unprecedented cruelty. At the urgent request of the mayor, who

Atlanta. "My plan was perfect," said he, "and ought to have wound up the career of Hood and his army. It would have done so, too, but for the tardiness of a single officer, who spoilt everything." "Who was that officer?" he was asked. The grim old soldier slowly turned his head and pointed to a gentleman seated a dozen paces away, smoking a cigar. Lowering his voice, and with a peculiar expression, Sherman said: "That's the man, confound him!"

pointed out the suffering the enforcement of the order would cause to women, children, and invalids, Sherman modified his demands. He offered free carriage to the people as far north as Chattanooga, and as far south as Rough-and-Ready. The inhabitants were allowed to take all their movables, and the negroes were left free to do as they chose about following their masters or working for the government. In the end some two thousand people were removed from the city. The campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta cost the Union army 4,423 killed, 22,822 wounded, and 4,442 missing, making 31,687 in all; while the Confederates lost 3,044 killed, 18,692 wounded, and 12,983 prisoners, a total of 34,679.

The Confederates in the North.

CHAPTER LXXVI

EVENTS OF 1864 (CONCLUDED)—FROM ATLANTA TO THE SEA

[*Authorities:* One of the best arguments in favor of eliminating the element of brute force from national disputes, and of substituting arbitration, was furnished by Sherman in his celebrated march to the sea. Millions and millions in value of property were destroyed, and the conditions of warfare then existing rendered such destruction of property imperative. Anything which, directly or indirectly, could render more effective the operations of the enemy is to be treated as "contraband of war" and confiscated or destroyed. No work of this kind was ever more thoroughly done than that accomplished by Sherman, and nothing in the history of warfare could have been more exasperating to the enemy than the sight of their burning towns and villages and cotton-bales. The writer was in the city of Charleston at the time when Sherman, having reached Atlanta, turned northward, and made a "swath of ruin" thirty miles wide on his way to North Carolina. The alarm felt in that city was so great at his approach, that scarcely a living creature could be found in the city. Amongst the many authorities for this chapter, there is perhaps none more interesting than the "Memoirs" written by Sherman himself.]

JEFFERSON DAVIS was alarmed so much when he learned of the capture of Atlanta, that he hurried from Richmond to Hood's army to learn the actual situation. He found that matters could be no worse. Hood proposed to attack Sherman's lines of communication. Davis consented, because the expedient, though desperate, was the only one that offered any hope.

The Confederate president on his way back stopped at Macon long enough to make a speech, in which he outlined Hood's plan for the overthrow of the Union army. The speech was published in the Macon papers, copied in the Northern journals, which were promptly forwarded to Sherman, and he read the whole plan of campaign with

an interest that perhaps may be imagined. Coming from the president of the Confederacy, the Union commander accepted the news as official.

Hood's Plan

Hood's plan was to advance into Tennessee, and, by imperiling Sherman's communications, compel him to withdraw from Georgia. Accordingly Hood marched through Northern Alabama, crossed the Tennessee at Florence, and advanced towards Nashville. Sherman made a feint of following him, but he had detached General Thomas with the Army of the Cumberland and directed him to "look after Hood." He was the man of all others to do it.

General Schofield, commanding the forces in the southern part of Tennessee, fell back before the advance of Hood, taking position at Franklin, eighteen miles to the south of Nashville. There, on the 30th of November, he was attacked by the Confederate army and defeated. He held his position until night, when he retreated across the river and took shelter in Nashville.

General Thomas was in Nashville. He gathered all the forces possible, placed a line of intrenchments around the city to the south, and brought in reenforcements from Chattanooga. Hood appeared in front of the city, December 2d, and began the erection of works and counter batteries, with never a doubt that he would soon capture the whole Union army.

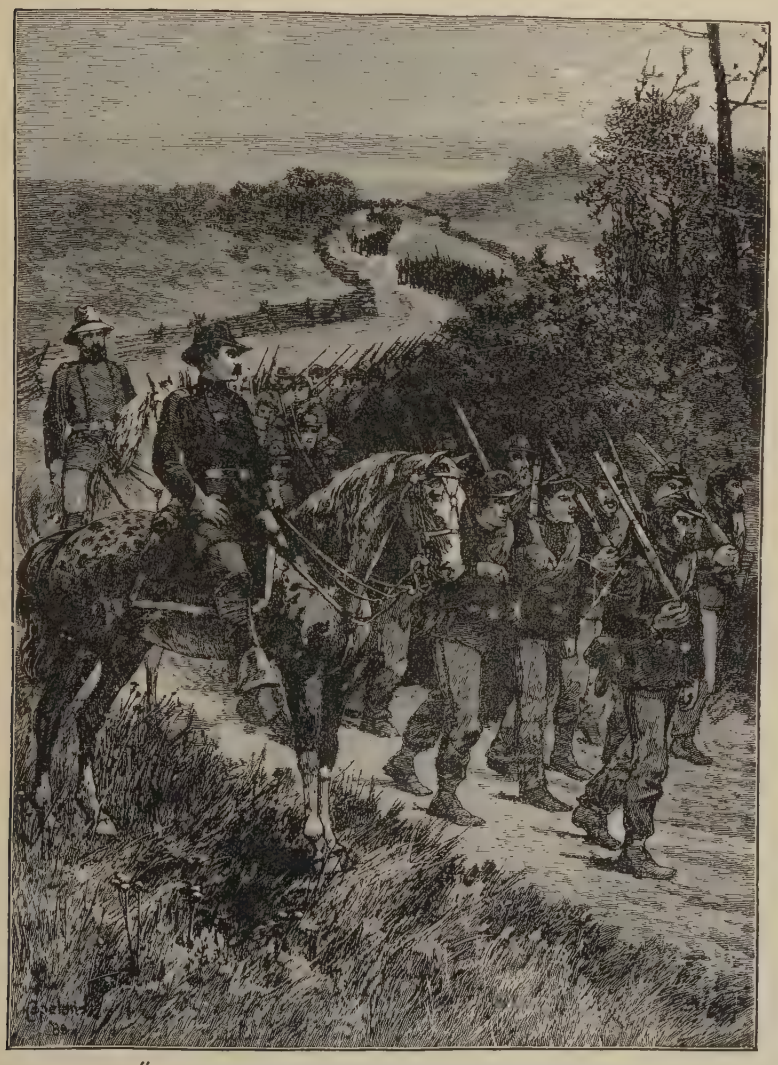
The "Rock of Chickamauga" was not alarmed. He drew in such reenforcements as he could, and made his preparations with the utmost care. His tardiness caused some impatience on the part of the Government, and even Grant was disposed to chide the superb officer. But the latter knew the right hour to move, and nothing could make him move until that hour arrived.

Hood's Army Destroyed

Just as it was growing light on the morning of December 15th, a feint was made against Hood's right, while the real attack was against his left. Several redoubts and guns were captured, and the Confederates were driven back several miles. The assault was renewed the next day, and Hood received more punishment than before. The Confederates fled in confusion towards Franklin, and Forrest, who was in front of Murfreesboro', was drawn into the stampede and swept along with it. Thomas pursued with relentless energy, and Hood and his demoralized troops forded the Duck River and the Tennessee, December 27th, and then—disappeared.

The campaign of Thomas against Hood was the finest of the war.

There was not a flaw in it. He waited, as he always did, until ready to assume the aggressive, and then moved with an energy that was resistless. In two days he captured 54 guns, 4,460 prisoners, and



"WHILE WE WERE MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA"

received 2,000 deserters. Hood asked to be relieved, and Gen. Dick Taylor was transferred from the trans-Mississippi Department as his successor; but the Confederate army was really destroyed, and

never again struck an effective blow for the Confederacy. The Rock of Chickamauga had fallen upon it, and had ground it to powder.

From Atlanta to the Sea

Meanwhile Sherman had begun his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. None but his leading officers was in the secret, and the Confederates were misled by a number of feints, while preparations for the march were under way. The army of about sixty thousand men was divided into two columns, the right commanded by General Howard and the left by General Slocum. That this host might have a torch to light its way at the beginning of its march, Atlanta was fired, on the evening of November 15th, and burned all night. The rear-guard marched out to the music of exploding shells and magazines. Sherman himself followed the next day with the left wing. This important movement was made more than a month before Thomas' crushing victory over Hood, and might, therefore, seem rash. But Sherman was well acquainted with Thomas.

General Howard with the right wing marched southward, so as to destroy the Macon railroad at various points, and Slocum with the left intended to threaten Augusta and destroy the Georgia Central railroad. The purpose of Sherman was to cut entirely loose from his communications, and live off the hostile country all the way to Savannah, about three hundred miles distant on the Atlantic coast. During that period, he would be as much lost to the North as if in the depths of Central Africa. A movement like that is most perilous, but never did the Union commander and his brother officers doubt its success.

The Confederate Forces

One reason for this confidence was the knowledge that the Confederates could muster no force sufficient to check the Union advance. Meanwhile Grant kept Lee so busily occupied that not a single Confederate soldier could be sent southward. In truth Lee himself was in sore need of reenforcements.

The principal forces in Georgia were ten thousand militia under Howell Cobb, formerly President Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury—a man with no military ability whatever. Wheeler's cavalry were so inferior in number to Kilpatrick's, that they could be readily brushed aside.

Dismay spread through the South when there was no longer any doubt that the Union army had "burned its bridges," and meant to force its way through the Confederacy. General Beauregard issued a flaming proclamation from his headquarters at Corinth, November

SHERMAN'S THREE SCOUTS

FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING BY J. STEEPLE DAVIS

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18th, calling upon the Georgians to obstruct and destroy the roads in Sherman's front, flank, and rear, and thus make certain his starvation. The Confederate Secretary of War at Richmond warmly endorsed the appeal of Senator B. H. Hill: "You have now the best opportunity ever presented to destroy the enemy. Put everything at the disposal of our generals. Every citizen with his gun, and every negro with his spade and axe, can do the work of a soldier. You can destroy the enemy by retarding his march." The Georgia members of the House of Representatives made a similar appeal, and Governor Brown ordered a levy of all the male white population between the ages of sixteen and forty-five. The convicts were offered a pardon if they would volunteer. In brief, nothing was neglected that could retard the advance of the Union army, but all the efforts combined were in vain.

Last Appeals

The Legislature at Milledgeville, the capital, made the quickest adjournment on record upon the approach of the invaders, who reached that town on the 21st. Governor Brown and the members halted at Augusta, but left again, for that city surrendered two days later to the Union army, which plundered and partly destroyed it, at the same time setting a large number of slaves free. To these it was indeed the day of jubilee, and thousands of them tramped along behind the army with their songs of rejoicing. Many of those people, when the more barren regions were reached, sank by the wayside and perished miserably.

No serious opposition was met, and by the 10th of December Sherman's army reached Savannah. The famous march to the sea was over, and the faint boom of the distant ocean came through the air like the sweetest of music. The three hundred miles were straight through the core of the Confederacy, and to most of the men, after leaving Atlanta, it was no more than a pleasure excursion.

Sherman at Savannah

Hardee was at Savannah with 15,000 men, and had too many cannon for Sherman to attack him with his field artillery, but Admiral Dahlgren was near with his fleet. It appeared impossible, however, to communicate with him, on account of Fort McAllister, which commanded the mouth of the Ogeechee. Sherman sent three scouts to try to reach him. Setting out at night, they paddled cautiously down the river until daylight, when they ran the boat among the reeds and remained in hiding until night came again. In

this guarded manner they advanced until a gunboat observed their signals, and, steaming up, took them on board. They handed to Admiral Dahlgren a despatch from General Howard, making known the perfect success of the advance of Sherman from Atlanta.

This was the first reliable news that had been received for weeks, and being sent to Washington, and thence throughout the country, caused great rejoicing. There was a widespread fear that the army had been overtaken by disaster, and the relief, therefore, was profound. Such rumors as filtered through the lines were naturally alarming, but now all misgiving was at an end. Besides, nothing that had occurred thus far showed so clearly the weakness of the Confederacy. Utterly unable as it was to check this large army, there could no longer be any doubt that it was fast crumbling to ruin.

Great Rejoicing

Fort McAllister, fifteen miles below Savannah, prevented Sherman's co-operation with the fleet. The fort had but a small garrison, however, and was captured on the 13th of December. Preparations being completed, Sherman on the 17th sent a demand to Hardee to surrender the city. He refused, and the Union commander made ready for assault; but Hardee saw that his position was untenable, and withdrew while there was a chance to save his army. Crossing the Savannah River on the night of the 20th, he passed into South Carolina, leaving the city defenceless.

Christmas Eve, President Lincoln received the following despatch from General Sherman: "I beg to present you, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with one hundred and fifty heavy guns, and plenty of ammunition; also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." It need not be said that the President appreciated the extraordinary gift.

Having now carried the history of the principal military events to the close of the year, it is proper to refer to incidents of another nature.

In the first place, a statement has to be made which will sound almost incredible. Despite the magnificent triumphs at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and the invincible advance of Grant, the cause of the Union came nearer collapse in the summer of 1864 than at any other period. The ardor that had brought forward the hundreds of thousands of volunteers gradually died out under the repeated calls. The losses in battle and by disease were appalling, and the questions

Danger to the Cause of the Union

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION 1861 TO 1865

which multitudes of thoughtful men asked were: "When is this bloodshed to end? Is the Union worth so many lives? Are we not paying too high a price for its preservation?" Indifference took the place of patriotism, and many of those who had been the most urgent for the prosecution of the war believed that the time had come to learn upon what terms peace could be had between the sections. Several advances were made in that direction by prominent men, acting unofficially, but they came to naught. The South was still defiant, and President Lincoln was too wise to relinquish his efforts to restore the Union.

Louis Napoleon's Duplicity

Louis Napoleon thought he saw an opportunity, while we were engaged in prosecuting the war, to establish a French empire in Mexico. Aided at first by Great Britain and Spain, he succeeded in overturning the republican government in that country, and offered the emperorship to Maximilian, Archduke of Austria. This was a flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but all we could do was to protest. Maximilian accepted the office in 1864, against the wishes of the Mexican people, although Napoleon made him believe the contrary.

In the autumn of the year Napoleon III. renewed his attempts to persuade Great Britain to join him in recognizing the Southern Confederacy. As has been stated, this usurper was a bitter foe of the Union, and he saw what was apparent to every one, that the collapse of the Confederacy was imminent, and it was his last chance to serve it; if the step was deferred it would be too late. He was persistent in his appeal to Great Britain, and our Government believed he would succeed.

What Would have Followed Recognition

What would have followed? That which is here stated is on the authority of General Grant himself. It was known only to him, President Lincoln, and Secretary of War Stanton. Those three in consultation made a careful memorandum, complete in all its details, by which one hundred and twenty-five thousand troops, whose officers and leader were selected and everything fully arranged, were to be thrown into Canada. This resistless army of veterans would have been across the border within twenty-four hours after England recognized the Confederacy. Canada would have been overrun and wrested from the mother-country before she could have taken an effective step to prevent it. Grant carried this memorandum in his breast-pocket for weeks, ready to act on the very minute the news

reached him.* Fortunately for England, she was afraid to do as Napoleon III. urged her to do, and the crisis passed. She knew her vulnerability, and was so alive to her unfriendly course during the war so far that, when the Union was restored, she believed that the United States would annex Canada, as could have been done with little difficulty. As for Napoleon III., who had shrugged his shoul-

FORAGING

ders when the American minister formally protested against the occupation of Mexico by French troops, the time speedily came to deal with *him*.

Presidential Election of 1864

It must not be forgotten that a Presidential election took place that year. The almost universal sentiment demanded the renomination of Lincoln, though he had rivals in his own party. Secretary Chase of the Treasury had a considerable following. The extreme abolitionists, who thought the President was "too slow," met in convention at Cleveland, May 31st, and nominated

* This statement was made by General Grant to Hon. Chester Holcombe (Secretary of Legation, and acting minister of the United States at Peking), at the time when on his tour around the world General Grant was the guest of Mr. Holcombe.

John C. Fremont for the Presidency and General Cochrane for the Vice-Presidency.

It was felt, among the Republicans, that the people who had stood by the Union amid the flames of secession should receive recognition. Chief among those heroes was Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who sturdily fought the disunion sentiment, often at the risk of his life. He was able, aggressive, and staunchly loyal. Accordingly, when the Republican convention met in Baltimore, June 7th, Johnson took the place of Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, as Vice-Presidential candidate.

Nominees and Platforms

The Republican platform called for the vigorous prosecution of the war until the Union was restored, and an added amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. It expressed confidence in President Lincoln; demanded that the laws of war should protect the black equally with the white soldiers, and uttered a threat against the action of France in Mexico.

The National Democratic Convention did not meet in Chicago until the latter part of August. General McClellan, who was still popular with many, was the preferred candidate of the Democrats who favored the prosecution of the war. Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, was the favorite of the "Peace" Democrats, who believed that the war ought to stop until some sort of peace was patched up. McClellan was made the candidate for the Presidency, and George H. Pendleton, a "Peace" Democrat, was the nominee for the Vice-Presidency.

The Democratic platform criticized the Government for some of its arbitrary actions, and demanded a cessation of hostilities with a view of a convention of the States to arrange a plan of reconstruction. It pronounced the prosecution of the war a failure, and condemned the disregard of State sovereignty by the administration.

Result of the Election

The Democratic canvass was made hopeless by the action of McClellan, who, in a letter on the 8th of September, declared that the one great question before the country was the re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity. While this letter was an honor to McClellan, it destroyed whatever chances he had of election. The prospect of Fremont became so hopeless that he soon withdrew. The only electoral votes cast for McClellan were those of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky, 21 in number, while the electoral votes of 22 States, 213 in all, went to Lincoln. Following close on

the news of the fall of Atlanta, this left no doubt of the predominant sentiment of the North as to the prosecution of the war for the Union.

The Congress of the Confederacy met on the 7th of November. President Davis in his message admitted the serious reverses that

THREE CONFEDERATE PRISONERS

had befallen the armies of the South, but expressed a hope and confidence which could not have been wholly genuine. He declared that there were too many exemptions from the conscription act, and intimated that the time was likely soon to come when the negroes were to be employed in the ranks. Such a bill was passed in March following, when it was too late to accomplish anything.

It is a pleasure to give an account of a merited snub that was ad-

ministered by Secretary Seward to the insolence of England. A number of aristocratic people raised $80,000 for the relief of Confederate prisoners in places of confinement in the North. The chairman of the committee was a certain Lord Wharncliffe, who asked permission to send an Englishman to this country to distribute the funds at the various Union prisons. Secretary Seward replied that the American public were well aware that the United States did not lack means to support its prisoners, and none of the latter was suffering any privation that appealed for charity either at home or abroad. At the same time, the American people remembered that the sum collected in the name of humanity was only a small part of the profits which the contributors had derived from the insurgents, by exchanging with them arms and amunitions of war for the production of slave labor. The Secretary added that the sum so ostentatiously offered was not too generous pay for the desolation which a civil war, promoted and protected by British subjects, had spread through the States. Nothing more was heard of Lord Wharncliffe and his relief fund.

A Merited Snub

One cause of exasperation to be added to those which England committed was the action of a number of Confederates who infested Canada near our boundary line. Under the protection of the English flag, they planned all sorts of mischief against the United States. In October, a party of armed Confederates entered a bank at St. Albans, Vermont, stole a large amount of money, a number of horses, burned a hotel, and fired upon the people. Upon their return to Canada, thirteen of the criminals were arrested and confined at St. John's. In the legal proceedings that followed all were discharged on the ground that the warrant for their arrest was not under the hand of the Governor-General of Canada, as was required by law. General Dix, in command of the Department of the East, was so indignant at this outrage that he ordered all similar marauders who could not be shot down to be pursued into Canada, captured no matter where they might be found, and under no circumstances to be surrendered, but to be brought to his headquarters for trial. Had this order been carried out, Great Britain would have promptly declared war. Our Government disavowed the action of General Dix, and Canada took steps which prevented any repetition of the outrages.

Pests in Canada

John Y. Beall, a Confederate officer, and a number of men, all in citizens' dress, seized the Lake Erie steamer *Philo Parsons*, Sep-

tember 19, 1864, with which they captured and sank the *Island Queen.* Later, Beall tried to wreck a railway train. He was arrested at Suspension Bridge, December 16th, and tried by court-martial. Although Jefferson Davis assumed officially the responsibility for his action, he was convicted of committing acts of war while wearing no visible badge of military service. In other words, he was a spy, and was therefore hanged February 24, 1865. Jacob Thompson, formerly President Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior, employed Robert C. Kennedy to burn New York hotels. He was a captain in the Confederate army. He set fire in one evening to Barnum's Museum, Lovejoy's, the Tammany and the New England hotels. He was hanged in March, 1865.

Atrocious Schemes

President Lincoln's message to Congress on the 6th of December expressed gratitude for the great success which had crowned the Union arms everywhere. He reminded the country that we had more men than when the war began; that our armies were not exhausted nor in the process of exhaustion, and, if necessary, the war could be continued indefinitely, adding the truth that it was idle to open any communication with the Confederate leader, who would listen to no terms which did not include Southern independence.

The report of the Secretary of the Treasury estimated that the national debt at the close of the fiscal year would be $2,645,320,682, and the daily expenses amounted to nearly three million dollars. Such numbers cannot be grasped. Suppose a street forty feet wide represented a million; then a street broad enough to represent a billion would be nearly eight miles in extent.

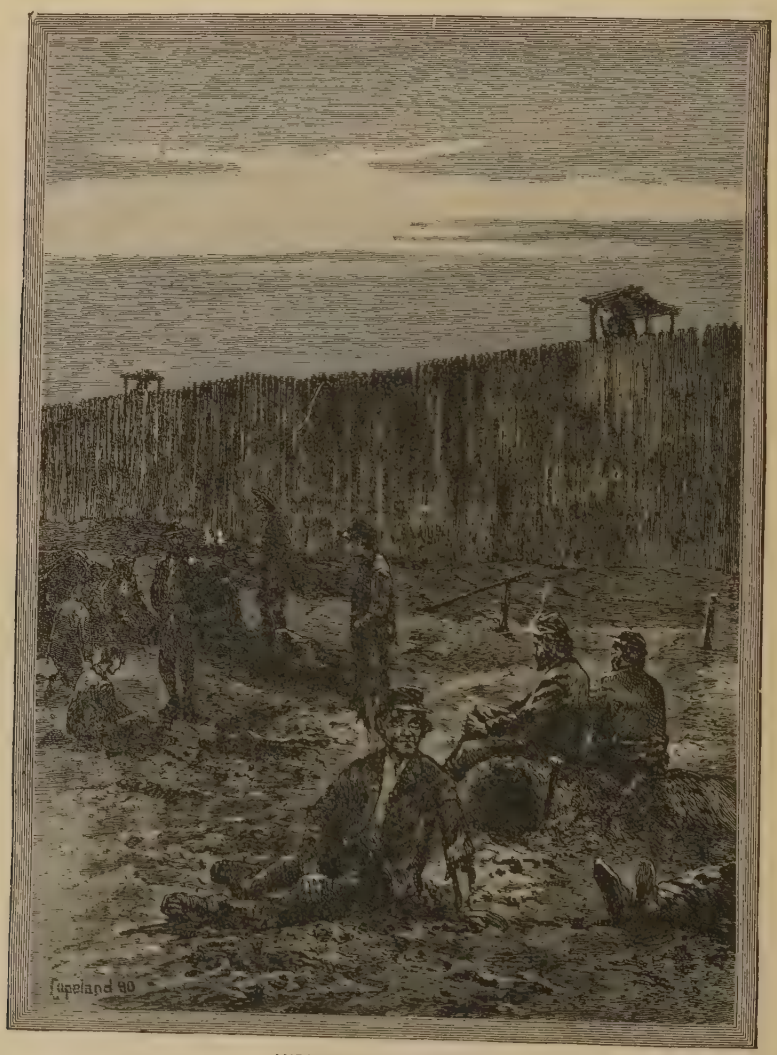
During the month of July gold reached a premium of 285, the highest ever known during the war. A paper dollar was worth only about thirty-five cents, but it became slightly more valuable towards the close of the year. At the same time a Confederate paper dollar was worth in some quarters two cents, in some one cent, and in many places absolutely nothing at all. It was remarked that a Southerner took his money in a basket and carried home his purchases in his vest-pocket. To meet the enormous demands of the national Government, an elaborate and universal system of taxation—including one on incomes—was devised and carried out. The burdens were heavy, but they were borne cheerfully, for every one knew they were necessary.

The Highest Premium on Gold

Nevada was admitted to the Union October 31st. It was a part of

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

the Mexican cession of 1848. Its wealth lies almost wholly in its mines. Its production of silver since 1859 has been so vast as to



ANDERSONVILLE PRISON

cause confusion in the prices and business of the world, which is felt to-day, not only in business, but in politics.

One of the striking facts connected with all wars is that many more soldiers die from disease than are killed in battle. In the war

for the Union the proportion was three to one. This led to the formation of a Sanitary Commission to look after the health of the men who went to the front. The work was a gigantic one, but the Government, the leading officers, and prominent physicians and citizens interested themselves in the beneficent movement, which accomplished an incalculable amount of good. Contributions poured in

LIBBY PRISON

from every quarter, even from the Sandwich Islands. The Sanitary Commission received $5,000,000 in money, of which more than a fourth came from the Pacific coast. The value of contributions in other forms was fully $15,000,000. Railways, telegraph offices, newspapers, and merchants were equally generous. The amounts secured by means of fairs were stupendous. Wealth, beauty, and talent united to make them successful, and no one questioned the prices demanded.*

Work of the Sanitary Commission

* "How much for that flower?" inquired a gentleman of a young lady at one of these fairs. "Only twenty-five cents," was the smiling reply. "I'll take it if you'll pin it on my coat." "Certainly," and the miss deftly fastened it in place. The purchaser handed her a dollar bill. "That's right, thank you," was the gracious response; "twenty-

The Christian Commission was organized for the purpose of looking after the spiritual interests of the men who, removed from the restraints of home and its associations, were peculiarly exposed to temptation. No statistics can be given of the good done by those noble bands of workers.

Andersonville Prison

As the war progressed, thousands of prisoners were taken by the Federals and Confederates. The Confederate prisoners were confined at different places in the North, and were well taken care of. The same was true in many cases in the South, where there was more poverty and distress. The one hideous exception was at Andersonville, Georgia, where in an immense pen as many as forty thousand Union prisoners were confined at one time. They were starved and maltreated, until in multitudes of cases death was a welcome relief. The keeper was a Swiss named Henry Wirz, one of the most brutal wretches that ever lived. At the close of the war he was brought to trial for his atrocities, found guilty, and hanged. Had this not been done, Wirz would have been killed by some of the survivors of Andersonville, for hundreds had sworn to do so if the opportunity ever came to them.

In some respects, Libby was the most famous of all the Confederate military prisons. It stands to-day in the city of Chicago, precisely as it stood in Richmond during the war, and no doubt many of the readers of these pages have inspected that gloomy structure and read its story with the deepest interest.

The building was erected in 1852, and was owned by a Scotchman named John Enders, who built other similar buildings for rental. It was leased by Luther Libby, in 1854, for the purpose of conducting a grocery and commission business. His son was admitted as a partner six years later, and was a Confederate soldier throughout the war.

Libby Prison

General J. H. Winder, in command at Richmond, took possession of the building, and Wirz, afterward transferred to Andersonville, was commandant for a short time, being succeeded by Major T. P. Turner. Erastus W. Ross, the chief clerk, was burned to death in the Spottswood House in 1873.

The first consignment of Union prisoners arrived in Richmond,

five cents for the flower and seventy-five cents for pinning it on." "And here is another dollar," said the gentleman; "it's worth it to be swindled in that delightful manner; but," he added, more seriously, "we can't do too much for the brave boys at the front."

July 23, 1861, followed the next day by others, all of whom were captured at Manassas or Bull Run. These were placed in the Liggon building. Up to ten o'clock, June 29, 1862, eighteen hundred men, including most of the Fourth New Jersey and Eleventh Pennsylvania regiments, had been received in Libby. The whole number confined there during the war was between fifty and sixty thousand.

A Plan of Escape

Thomas E. Rose, colonel of the 77th Pennsylvania Volunteers, was captured at Chickamauga and placed in Libby, October 1, 1863. From the day of his entry his fertile mind was busy with plans of escape. Major A. G. Hamilton, of a Kentucky regiment of cavalry, was a congenial spirit in this occupation, and it was not long before they fixed upon a plan. They toiled for weeks in the face of all manner of discouragements, and then found it impossible to tunnel their way to the canal as they had intended. Finally Colonel Rose saw that only one hope remained: that was to tunnel underneath the vacant lot on the east, to a point about seventy feet distant, where they might emerge on the other side of a fence into a shed at the rear of a vacant office of the Virginia Towing Company. Succeeding in this, it would be easy to pass through the front to Dock Street.

The successful digging of this tunnel was one of the most wonderful incidents of the war. The prisoners were not allowed on the ground floor (that being on a level with Cary Street), nor in the cellars or floors on a level with Dock Street at the rear. The three sections of the building were distinct from one another, with solid walls eighteen inches thick separating them. On the upper floors, where prisoners were kept, the Confederates had cut doors through the walls, and the occupants were allowed to mingle.

The first floor of the corner building on Twentieth Street served as an office and sleeping quarters for the prison officials. It was from the middle section of the building, used as a kitchen, that an entrance was effected to the cellar of the next or last section of the building. This room had two stoves. One of these stood about ten feet from the door that opened on Cary Street, which was always strongly bolted, and a guard was continually passing in front of it.

Toilsome Work

The prisoners skilfully cut a hole almost through the fireplace wide enough to permit the passage of a man. Since the point was open to the view of the Confederates at all hours of the day, to have completed the opening would have revealed at once the whole scheme. It was equally necessary to conceal the work from the Union pris-

oners who were not in the secret, and who crowded around the stoves during cold weather from dawn until dark.

The only time in which the plotters could work was between ten o'clock at night and four o'clock in the morning. They had to toil in complete silence, for a sentinel was always passing back and forth, hardly ten feet distant. The only implements obtainable were an old knife and a chisel that had been taken from the carpenter shop. With these they cut the mortar from between the bricks, and pried out about a dozen of them with extreme care and patience. Then they cut into the flue, and thence below the floor of the adjoining cellar, where they broke through the wall. Colonel Rose had concealed a rope-ladder about him for a long time in anticipation of this attempt at escape. With this ladder they now reached the outer or eastern wall of the prison.

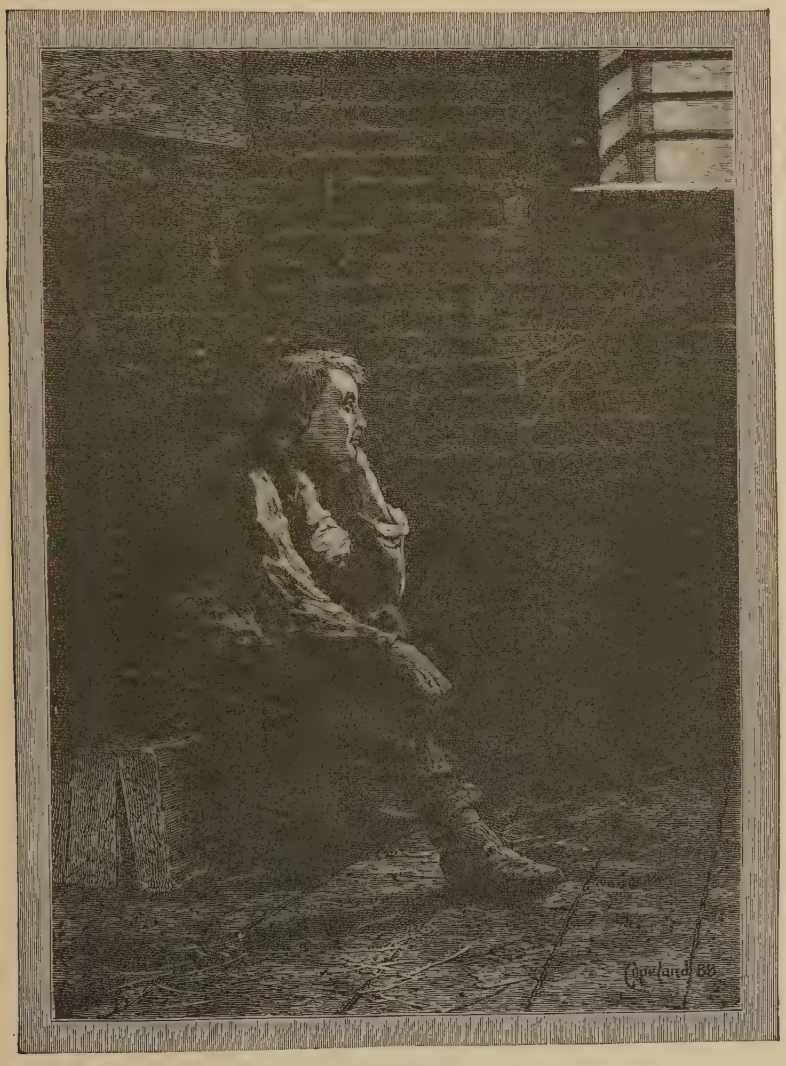
How it was Done

At four o'clock each wintry morning, the bricks were carefully put back in the fireplace, and soot sprinkled over them to hide the traces of what was going on. Thus the work went on night after night, with several of the narrowest possible escapes from discovery. The toilers dreaded the boisterous good-nature of their friends more than the vigilance of their enemies. Once Colonel Rose lost his hold of the rope, and dropping downwards, was pinioned fast. He could not move his arms, and, was in danger of suffocation. Major Hamilton strove desperately to release him, but could not do so until he had the help of Lieutenant F. F. Bennett of the 18th Regulars. During those frightful minutes, when death seemed inevitable, Colonel Rose did not utter a sound, preferring to die rather than betray his comrades. As it was, he was nearly dead when drawn up. The hole was slightly enlarged, and they now made use of a wooden spittoon and a clothes-line, and began tunnelling at the southeast corner of the cellar, intending to enter the sewer in Dock Street; but this was found impossible, and the plan was abandoned.

The men in the scheme numbered fifteen. After two failures all gave up except Rose and Hamilton. They were undismayed, and returned to the old scheme by renewing operations at the northeast corner of the cellar, their goal being the point seventy feet away, within the yard of the Virginia Towing Company's office, to which reference has been made. If this point were reached, the escaping prisoners would have to go through an arched wagon-way under the offices that faced Dock Street, and pass, one by one, in front of the

The Old Scheme

sentinel on the south side of the prison, and within the glare of a gas-lamp at the corner. The sentinel's beat did not reach the wagon-way, but it was close enough for him to see every one who emerged.



IN PRISON

Colonel Rose believed that he and his comrades could slip out while the sentinel's back was towards them, or that, if they were seen, their identity would not be suspected.

The ardor of Rose and Hamilton was infectious, and a new party of workers was formed. At the beginning, the bottom of the tunnel was about six inches above the level of the cellar floor. One man would penetrate into the tunnel, fill the wooden spittoon with dirt, and then by a gentle pull of the rope signal to the one waiting outside, who drew the box into the cellar and emptied it under the straw. Others stood at the mouth of the tunnel and fanned fresh air into it by means of a rubber blanket stretched across a rude framework.

The Start

On Tuesday evening, February 9, 1864, Colonel Rose gathered his comrades in the kitchen, removed the bricks, and waited until the last man went down. He then bade Colonel H. C. Hobart good-by and followed, waiting at the bottom until he heard his friend draw up the ladder and replace the bricks. The understanding was that the second party, also numbering fifteen, should follow one hour later; this being kept up until all who could get away had done so.

Colonel Rose entered the tunnel first, with Major Hamilton next, and a few minutes later they emerged into the yard. The gate leading to the canal was opened, and a glance showed the leader that the coast was clear. Waiting until the nearest sentinel's back was turned, Rose stepped out on the sidewalk, walked briskly down the street to the east, and was soon joined by Hamilton. The others followed at brief intervals, and took different directions.

At this juncture an unexpected occurrence threatened to spoil everything. News of what was going on spread among the other prisoners, and their excitement became uncontrollable. A furious struggle to enter the opening through the fireplace began, and for a time pandemonium reigned. But fortunately the strife was conducted in silence, and the sentinels outside heard nothing.

The Race for Freedom

One hundred and nine officers, including 11 colonels, 7 majors, 32 captains, and 59 lieutenants, safely reached the outside and started on the race for freedom. The authorities at Libby learned the astounding truth the next morning at roll-call. Since the fireplace had been carefully reclosed and the opening in the yard covered by the last man who went out, no explanation of the affair presented itself. The Richmond papers referred to it as "miraculous," and crowds flocked thither for several days. One of the persons happened to remove the plank in the yard, and then the secret was discovered.

LIBBY PRISON—LEAVING THE MOUTH OF THE TUNNEL

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY J. STEEPLE DAVIS

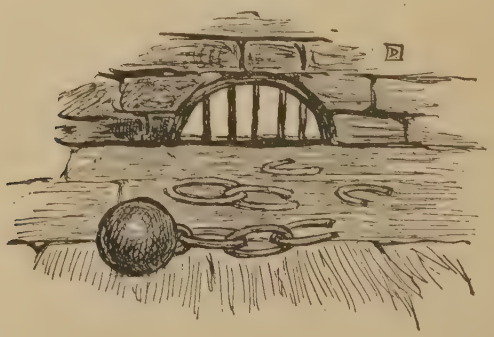
When a dog made its way through the tunnel from end to end everything was clear.

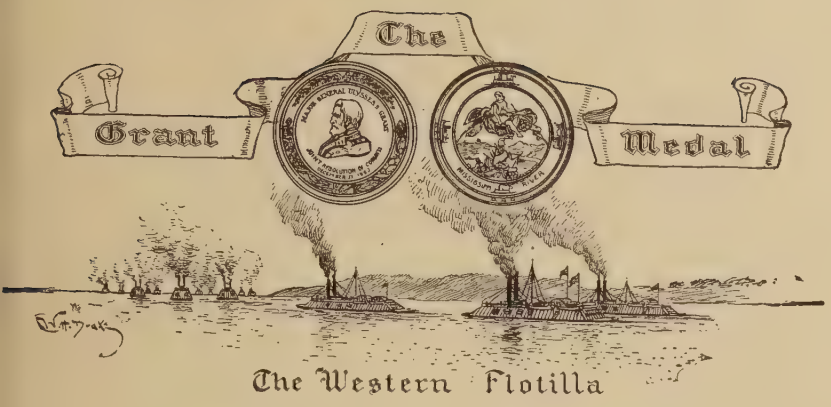
Result of the Pursuit

Pursuit had been organized at once, and was vigorously pushed. One fugitive only was captured within the city limits. Colonel Rose was retaken within sight of the Union picket lines and brought back to Libby; Major Hamilton was more fortunate and got away, while, of the 109, 66 were recaptured and returned to prison. Among those that escaped were Colonel Streight and a number of officers, who remained concealed in Richmond for a week until the hue and cry was over, and safely reached the Union lines. Miss Bettie Vanlew, afterwards appointed postmistress of Richmond by President Grant, was the lady who thus befriended the fugitives. Her action became known, shortly after the occurrence, but she was not disturbed.*

* The Confederate sentinel on duty that night was W. F. Crane. He stated to the writer that the Union prisoners for several reasons had his sympathies. A number of them were from New Jersey where the father of Crane was born. They were good fellows, all of them, and Crane was angry and resentful at the authorities because they compelled him to go on duty that bitterly cold night, when he was suffering severely from rheumatism, contracted on the Rapidan, and had been refused permission to enter the hospital.

Crane says he furnished the prisoners several bottles of whiskey, and that for a week before their escape he knew what they were doing, and on the afternoon preceding shook hands with a number, among them Colonel Rose, and wished them the best of luck. Crane said to his dying day (he died in May, 1893, at Cowikee, Alabama) that he was never quite able to decide whether he had done right or wrong in thus aiding in the escape of the prisoners of war.





The Western Flotilla

CHAPTER LXXVII

EVENTS OF 1865—THE GRAND CAMPAIGN

[*Authorities:* Many thoughtful people assert that the world is governed too much that the restraints of law over the actions of men are in a large sense superfluous. It is urged that men, if left free from these restraints would observe those equities of conduct that the laws are assumed to compel. Such a contention is shown to be ridiculous when the scenes of horror and wild anarchy that followed the evacuation of Richmond in 1865 are considered. Every conceivable atrocity seems to have been perpetrated in the excitement of the time. The assassination of President Lincoln that promptly followed is another illustration of the fact that there is something radically wrong with humanity. That the brother of perhaps the greatest actor that America has produced should have deliberately taken the life of the noblest, the wisest, and the best President that we have ever had, makes a pitiful showing for the human race. The fact is that thousands of years' experience has demonstrated that men need to be restrained by forces stronger than themselves. Upon this fact government is hypothecated. The authorities for this period are Draper, Greeley, Stephens, Abbott, Pollard, Lossing and Headley on the Civil War, Nichol's "Story of the Great March," Swinton's "Army of the Potomac," and "Twelve Decisive Battles," Cook's "Life of Robert E. Lee," and "Memoirs" of W. T. Sherman.

General Grant's Headquarters.

WE have referred to the yearning for peace throughout the North and South. This was shown in many ways. When, as often occurred, there was a truce between the opposing forces, the soldiers fraternized at once. They exchanged newspapers and coffee for tobacco and other articles, and more times than their commanders suspected, the "boys in gray" and the "boys in blue" made stealthy social calls upon each other. Prisoners were often allowed to escape, and were helped on their way to home and liberty. In October, 1864, Lieutenant James W. Graves, of the Third Missouri Infantry, with about fifty men, was conducting Colonel Chester Harding, Jr.,

and twenty-seven soldiers as Union prisoners to a Federal post about thirty miles distant. On the road they encountered a hundred Confederate guerillas, under a notorious desperado, who ordered Lieutenant Graves to surrender his prisoners, as he meant to shoot them all. Thereupon Lieutenant Graves told the Federals they were prisoners no longer. They could make an attempt to escape if they wished, or, if they preferred, he would distribute the few extra arms he possessed among them, and they would all fight to the death. It was then agreed by captors and captives that they would be neither Confederate nor American soldiers, but comrades. An insulting demand for surrender was sent to Lieutenant Graves, with the avowal that it was the intention of the guerillas to shoot every one of the "Yanks," and that a large force was near at hand to compel their surrender. Graves returned a defiant answer, and preparations were made for a desperate struggle; but the guerillas finally drew off, lacking the courage to attack the little band.

Comrades, not Prisoners.

There was little if any business done in the South. Men were waiting for the end, which could not be far off. Many soldiers sought exemption from service on every possible pretext. Thousands deserted to the Union lines. The plantations and homes were desolate, and women and their children who had never known manual labor were compelled to toil for their bread. Innumerable thresholds were darkened by shadows that never could be lifted, and the weary, saddened ones who saw other shadows looming in the sky raised their hearts in prayer for peace that would end all these things.

The Longing for Peace

And there were many similar bowed heads and prayers in the North. The yearning appeared in the songs sung by the soldiers, and in short was "in the air." The number of volunteers called for during 1864 was one million two hundred thousand. Thoughtful persons asked one another what had become of all those men. They suspected that there had been overwhelming disasters which the Government kept secret. That which the Government concealed, however, was not disaster and losses (for it was not possible to keep them from the newspapers), but the fact was that not half the men called for were obtained.

From this will be understood why there were so many efforts to bring about peace during the closing months of the war. One of these efforts was so important because of its official character and the prominent actors on both sides that it should receive a permanent

record. It is known as the Hampton Roads Meeting, and was held February 3, 1865. All of the persons present bound themselves to secrecy as to the proceedings, so that while the result of the conference soon became known, the particulars of what occurred were not set forth until nearly all of those concerned had passed away. For the following full and accurate account we are indebted to William E. Cameron:

The Hampton Roads Meeting

"The inception of the conference was a visit to Richmond of Francis P. Blair, Sr., armed with a letter from Mr. Lincoln, in which the latter expressed his willingness to receive delegates from 'those in authority in the Southern States who desired to make peace on the basis of one common country.' What conversation passed between Messrs. Blair and Davis will probably never be known. It is to be supposed, however, that the former, in his zeal for peace, exceeded the letter of his authority; for the latter evidently believed, in responding to the overture, that the terms which his representatives were instructed to communicate had already been discussed with favor at Washington. As to this Mr. Lincoln said afterwards at Old Point: 'The old man [Blair] undoubtedly meant well, but I gave him no authority to make any statement or proposition to any one, and after his return I stopped him from proceeding when he began to tell me what he had done in Richmond.' The letter above quoted, though, Mr. Blair unquestionably had, for it was used subsequently by the Confederate Commissioners as their credential for admission to the Federal lines.

Account by Mr. Cameron

"Whether Mr. Davis was innocently misled by Blair, or whether he purposely misconstrued the tenor of Mr. Lincoln's communication, it is certain that in responding he altogether ignored the language of that document. For when, on January 28, 1865, Messrs. Alexander H. Stephens, R. M. T. Hunter, and John A. Campbell—Vice-President, Senator, and Assistant Secretary of War, respectively, of the Confederate Government—were appointed 'to confer with the President of the United States concerning peace,' their commission distinctly restricted their powers to a discussion of 'the issues involved in the war existing, with the view of securing peace to the two countries.'

"Here was a fatal variance on the very threshold of negotiation. So that when the Commissioners presented themselves on Grant's lines at Petersburg, seeking entrance by virtue of the Blair letter,

that officer demanded a view of their commission, and then prohibited their progress on account of the manifest discrepancy between the two documents. They were detained for three days while correspondence was had with Mr. Lincoln. On the third day Col. T. T. Eckert arrived as a messenger from that official, bearing a certified copy of the letter to Mr. Blair, thus acknowledging the authenticity of that. But the Union President decided that the face of the commission issued by President Davis declared conditions which he could not entertain, and therefore rendered a meeting unnecessary. It was not until February 3, 1865, after General Grant had telegraphed his request that the meeting might take place, urging that 'if it did no good, it could do no harm,' that the Confederates were allowed to proceed.

Face to Face

"On that date, in the cabin of a steamer anchored off Old Point, the conferees were brought face to face. On the part of the Federal Government (Admiral Porter's statement to the contrary notwithstanding) there appeared President Lincoln and Secretary Seward only; on the part of the Confederacy the three gentlemen already named; and no one else was admitted during the three hours' session, though the admiral affirmed so often and with such circumstantial positiveness his presence and participation that doubtless he at last believed his own story.

"As a preliminary to business it was agreed that conversation was to be frank and unrestrained, that none of the parties was to be held bound by anything said, and that the whole was to be in confidence. Judge Campbell notes especially the facts that the reception extended to the embassy was pleasant, that the intercourse was marked by dignified courtesy, and that the discussion was conducted with befitting gravity and fairness.

Mr. Stevens' Statement

"Mr. Stephens opened the business on hand by stating 'clearly and with precision the conditions which the Confederates were instructed to lay before the President of the United States.' These had been orally communicated to them by President Davis at his residence in Richmond on the day previous to their departure. Judge Campbell's journal of that date says: 'Mr. Benjamin, Secretary of State, came for me to go to the dwelling of the President, where I found my colleagues convened, and Mr. Davis then divulged to us the reasons for creating the Commission and the functions which were assigned to it. He stated that there was exceeding dis-

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT HAMPTON ROADS

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content in the United States concerning the breach by the French Emperor of the Monroe doctrine, in the armed occupation of Mexico, and the subversion of that Government to a foreign prince—a discontent which was shared to the full extent by the Confederate authorities and people; and that it was purposed (presumably by those who had prompted Mr. Blair's mission) to form an alliance and combination of military forces between the governments at Washington and Richmond with the object of expelling Maximilian from Mexico. We were not further informed of the means and methods of compounding our own difficulties, nor as to the disposition to be made of Mexico after such joint occupancy. But Mr. Davis seemed assured that this basis of common interest would be acceptable to Mr. Lincoln, and he concluded by conferring upon us the power to make any treaty but one that involved reconstruction of the Federal union.'

Vague Proposals

"When Mr. Stephens had explained the scheme of making common cause against the usurpers in Mexico, Mr. Lincoln, with emphasis and force, disclaimed all knowledge of or responsibility for any proposition of Mr. Blair to Mr. Davis covering such a project. Mr. Seward encouraged Mr. Stephens' line of remark, and apparently sympathized in his general view, but Mr. Lincoln, so soon as the opportunity occurred, declared that 'he had encouraged and would listen to no terms which did not involve an immediate recognition of the Federal authority by all the States and the abandonment forthwith of all armed resistance to it.'

"'I confess,' writes Judge Campbell, in commenting upon this portion of his memoranda, 'that this response did not surprise me, and that any other would have filled me with amazement.'

Three Important Fact

"Thus early in the conference were developed three facts, either one of which would have sufficed to render an agreement impossible:

"1. Mr. Lincoln had given Mr. Blair no other authority than that contained in the letter he bore to Richmond.

"2. That letter pledged Mr. Lincoln to treat only with persons empowered by those in authority at the South to make peace on the basis of Federal supremacy in one common country.

"3. The Confederate Commissioners were limited by the terms of their written commission, and by oral instruction from their

principal, to an accommodation that would continue two governments within the former limits of the United States.

. . . . . .

"Nothing further was needed to convince the practical statesmen comprising the conference of the futility of further discussion. The subsequent proceedings were in the nature of a running colloquy, during the course of which the Confederate members, admitting their incapacity to conclude any settlement other than that which the Union representatives declared to be impossible, propounded tentative inquiries as to a period of armistice, the probable method of reconstruction in case of a return to allegiance of the seceding States, as to the status of slavery in such event, etc. The replies to these queries are full of interest, as indicating the views at that time of the men who made them upon the great problems which afterwards proved so difficult of solution by the rulers of the restored Union. There are also some touches which graphically portray the mental characteristics of Mr. Lincoln, and some in which the diplomatic indirection which was second nature to Mr. Seward leaks out.

No Possible Agreement

"Reference was made to the President's proclamation emancipating the slaves. He said there were many different opinions among his own people as to its operation. Many believed that it was not operative at all; others that it operated only within the limits occupied by Federal troops; still others believed that it was operative in all the States to which applied. That, however, was for the lawyers to decide. He, himself, could not withdraw nor modify it.

"The Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting involuntary servitude within the United States, had just been adopted by Congress, and was referred to by Mr. Hunter. Mr. Seward remarked that no great significance should be attached to it. 'The Southern States,' he said, 'will return to the Union, and with their own political strength and the aid of the connections they will form with other States, the amendment will not be ratified. Then, too, it is a war measure, passed under the predominance of revolutionary passion. I think that if the war were ended all such measures would be abandoned.'

The Thirteenth Amendment

"Some speculations were exchanged as to the probability of pecuniary return to Southerners for the loss of their property in slaves. Mr. Seward said that the Northern States were weary of war and would be willing to pay for a cessation of hostilities the sum that a continuance of the war would cost them, but added that the sums

already expended in prosecuting the war would probably have to be credited on the account. Mr. Lincoln stated that in his view the North was as much responsible for the existence of slavery as the South, and that he would be rejoiced to have his little property taxed for indemnity to the masters deprived of their chattels.

The Trouble in Mexico

"Mr. Hunter and Judge Campbell were both averse to the Mexican proposition, believing such invasion as was proposed to be neither a rational nor righteous enterprise, and they made no secret of their disposition in regard to it after President Lincoln had repudiated the idea. On the abstract question the latter expressed a belief that the Northern mind was never more harmonious on any subject than in resentment of the French occupancy of American territory, but that was a collateral matter to be attended to after domestic troubles had been settled. Mr. Seward on this spoke with some feeling. 'The United States,' he observed, 'was in somewhat the condition as to foreign complications that existed prior to the war of 1812. They now had *casus belli* against England as well as France, and were uncertain against which to proceed when their hands should be untied by peace at home. But the ancient grudge against Great Britain would probably decide that question.'

"The subject of a long armistice, during which the passions engendered by strife might have time to cool, and so the way paved for a cordial reunion of the sections, was introduced by the Confederate Commissioners. Mr. Lincoln could not see his way to a suspension of hostilities without some pledge of the disbandment of all forces arrayed against the Federal authorities. Mr. Hunter remarked that the Parliament and Charles I. had conferred through commissioners without detriment to the status of either. 'Oh!' exclaimed Mr. Lincoln, 'I am not learned in historical precedents. There I must refer you to Mr. Seward. All I know of Charles I. is that he lost his head.' Asked what the probable policy of the United States would be as to confiscation, the President replied that the power to construe the laws of pains and penalties had been left by Congress in his hands, and that in case of Southern return to allegiance he would exercise his discretion most liberally.'

Lincoln's Happy Retort

. . . . . .

"The Commissioners returned to Richmond February 5th, and reported to their President. Mr. Davis proclaimed that 'the United States would not enter into any agreement or treaty whatever with

the Confederate States, or with any State thereof; and that the only possible mode of obtaining peace was by laying down our arms, disbanding our forces, and yielding unconditional obedience to the laws of the United States, including those passed for the confiscation of property and the abolition of slavery.' A mass-meeting of

RUINS OF SECESSION HALL, CHARLESTON, S. C.

citizens was called in Richmond, at which Mr. Davis spoke with fiery eloquence, concluding: 'There remains for us no choice but to continue this contest to a final issue; for the people of this Confederacy can be but little known to him who supposes it possible that they would ever consent to purchase, at the cost of degradation and slavery, permission to live in a country garrisoned by their own negroes and governed by officers sent by the conqueror to rule over them.'

Defence of Jefferson Davis

"Judge Campbell, after narrating these events sums up the Confederate situation:

Judge Campbell's Opinion

"'There was then in my opinion full justification for the opinion that peace on the precise terms offered by Mr. Lincoln at the Hampton Roads conference, if none better could be obtained, should have been accepted. The treasury was bankrupt. The Bureau of Conscription had exhausted the population between the ages of seventeen and fifty. The Army of the West had been destroyed at Nashville. The trans-Mississippi army had refused to cross the river. General Johnston had at Charlotte less than three thousand men. General Lee's army, though reduced in numbers to a state of inefficiency, could neither be fed nor clothed. The Ordnance Department had only twenty-five thousand rifles on hand. The purse, the arsenal, the magazine, and recruits, were all wanting. General Lee had informed the President that, except upon conditions which the War Department had assured him were impossible of fulfilment, he "could neither hold his lines nor remove his army safely from them." General Preston reported that there were one hundred thousand deserters within the limits of the Confederacy. The situation was painfully and pitifully hopeless. It was under such circumstances that a Commission was appointed to confer with an enemy who held victory in his grasp, and told to accept from him no terms except an absolute grant to the defeated section of the independence for which they battled.

False Position of the South

"'That the Confederate Government acted under thoroughly false views of the military situation is the opinion of the most eminent of the military critics of Great Britain. Of that I am not persuaded; but I am certain that the officials of the departments and the officers of the armies reported faithfully to the head of the Government those facts which made it patent that further resistance was a useless waste of blood and resources, and that there was no statement of nor reference to this conclusive testimony in the last message of the President to Congress; nor did its possession induce him to abate the tenor of his demand upon Mr. Lincoln, that the vanquished should reap the substantial fruits of victory. . . . But of the motives of the actors in this crisis I have no desire to speak. That the opportunity to ameliorate the results of defeat was neglected is the simple truth of history. I have no purpose to sit in judgment on the person or persons who may have been responsible.'

SHERIDAN AND HIS GENERALS RECONNOITRING AT FIVE FORKS (DINWIDDIE COURT-HOUSE)

"Some time before his death Judge Campbell filed with the memoranda and letters from which the above has been synopsized all the documents necessary to a full verification of his statements, also the written endorsement of his colleagues, Messrs. Stephens and Hunter, of the accuracy of his notes on the Hampton Roads conference. He was a jurist of eminent repute, was, previous to the secession of his State, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and was noted for care and precision in the use of language. An additional value, therefore, attaches to his assertions. They proceed not only from a man of truth, but from one accustomed to weigh his words well."

The Single Campaign Remaining

There now remained but the single campaign to be pushed by the Union armies—that was against Lee and the forces guarding Richmond. The purpose of Grant in sending Sherman and his sixty thousand men on their march from Atlanta to the sea was not merely to sweep through the Confederacy, but to get to the rear of Lee and prevent any junction between him and the other Confederate army, then a dangerous one under Johnston.

On the 5th of February, Lee was made commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces. One of the first things he did was to restore Johnston to the command of the only army that could be gathered to confront Sherman, and which included all the troops in Georgia, South Carolina, and Florida.

Sherman's army spent the month of January, 1865, in Savannah, where considerable Union sentiment existed. Having garrisoned the city, he marched against Columbia, February 1st.

It may be said that the Confederates had now reached the last ditch. The Governor of South Carolina had already called to the field every white man in the State between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and a line of defence was formed along the Salkhatchie.

The Last Ditch

But it was useless. The passages of the river were forced, and on the 11th the lines of communication between Charleston and Augusta were cut off. The fords and bridges of the Congaree were captured and the State road to Columbia opened. The Broad and Saluda rivers were bridged, and Columbia was helpless. On the morning of the 17th the mayor and a committee of common council rode out in carriages and surrendered the city.

General Hardee, commandant at Charleston, saw that his turn had come, and on the same day that the capital surrendered, he detailed

guards to destroy all the warehouses, stores of cotton, and depots of supplies in the city. Four squares were burned over before the flames were checked, and the same night, Hardee, with fourteen thousand troops, left Charleston and headed northwards, with the purpose of joining Generals Beauregard and Johnston in North Carolina.

Fall of Charleston

On the 18th the Union troops on James and Morris islands learned of the fall of the city, and that forenoon the Stars and Stripes were once more raised over Forts Sumter, Ripley, and Pinckney.

General Sherman destroyed the arsenals, foundries, and machine shops of Columbia, and then resumed his march northwards. At Winnsboro a junction was made with the Twentieth Corps under Slocum, and crossing the Pedee at Cheraw, the Union army occupied Fayetteville on the 11th of March.

Gen. Jo Johnston, it will be remembered, had been recalled to the command of the Confederates, and he now began to offer serious resistance to the Union advance. General Hardee made a stand at Averysborough, a few miles north of Fayetteville, but was defeated with severe loss.

While Sherman was approaching Bentonsville, on the 19th of March, he was suddenly assailed by Johnston, and for a time the Union army was in serious peril. But the furious fighting of Jeff C. Davis' division saved the day, and Goldsborough was entered on the 21st. At this place, Sherman was reenforced by a column from Wilmington under General Terry and one from Newbern under General Schofield. Knowing that he was now master of the situation, Sherman turned the command of the army over to General Schofield, and proceeded northwards to hold a consultation with Grant over the closing campaign of the war.

Grant's Vigor

Meanwhile Grant had been hammering Lee with relentless vigor. Early in February the Union leader began his preparations for his final series of operations against the Confederacy. On the 5th two army corps, with Gregg's dragoons, were despatched to turn the Confederate works at Hatcher's Run. The attempt was not successful, yet several miles additional of country were secured.

Soon afterwards Sheridan's cavalry did some effective work in the Shenandoah Valley. They destroyed the Richmond and Lynchburg Railway, defeated General Early, and broke the locks on the

James River Canal. Sheridan intended to join Sherman at Goldsborough, but a sudden rise of the James and the destruction of the bridges by the enemy prevented, and on the 24th of March he united with the army operating on the James.

Fully conscious of the imminent peril of Richmond and his army, General Lee decided to strike a blow at Grant, in the hope of compelling his withdrawal from Petersburg and Richmond, so as to allow him to unite his forces with those of General Johnston.

EAST PARLOR OF THE DUNLOP HOUSE, PETERSBURG

Lee selected Fort Stedman as the point of his attack. This was the second work from the extreme right of the Union defences near the Appomattox. The position was a formidable one. Strong and elaborate works extended for thirty miles from the north side of the James to Hatcher's Run on the south side. The Appomattox ran in front of the greater part of these lines, and between them and the river were the Confederate works.

Gordon's Valiant Attack

General Gordon led the assault against Fort Stedman, on the 25th of March. The garrison was surprised and captured, and Gordon then attacked Fort Hascall, forming a part of the second line of de-

fence. This attempt, however, was a failure, and Gordon retreated to Fort Stedman, where he was attacked so vehemently by the Union Ninth Corps that he was driven out, with a heavy loss in killed and prisoners.

The Confederates were pursued to their own works, and the Unionists succeeded in establishing themselves beyond the point they had occupied before the attack. Gordon's gallant attempt proved only a disaster.

An Important Consultation

Two days later General Sherman reached City Point, to consult with General Grant as to future operations. Generals Meade, Ord, and President Lincoln afterwards met Grant and Sherman in front of Petersburg. All agreed that the great object was to prevent a junction of Lee and Johnston, who, if they united forces, would prolong their resistance indefinitely.

To prevent this, Grant proposed to attack Lee at the earliest hour and with so overpowering a force as to render a junction impossible. The 29th of March was fixed upon as the day for the renewal of active operations.

On the 24th orders were issued for the movement of troops from the headquarters at City Point. The plan was to make a simultaneous attack on the scattered points of the Confederate position around Petersburg. On the day fixed, the Second Corps, under Humphreys, and the Fifth, under Warren, were in front of the Confederate defences near Hatcher's Run.

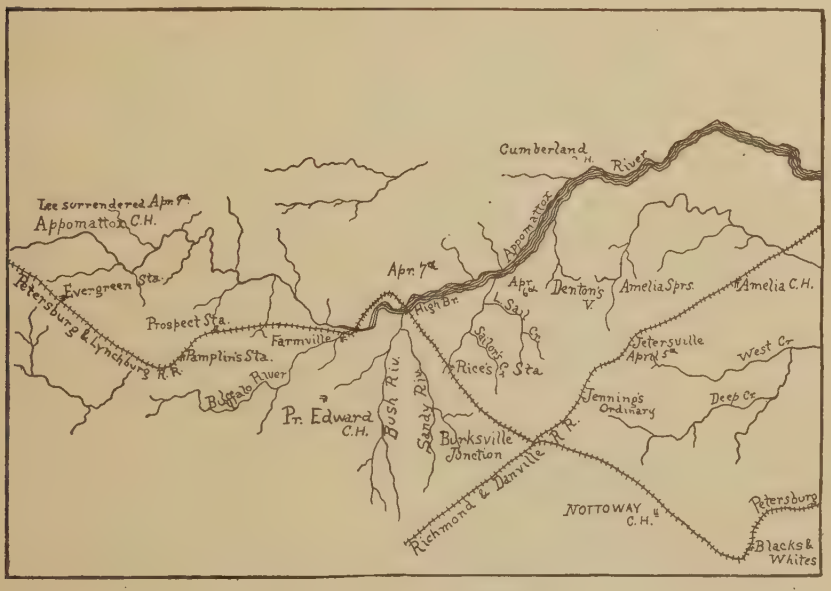
That night Grant sent word to Sheridan to act in conjunction with the main army, instead of striking Lee's lines of communication, as was first intended. The rain fell so violently on the 30th that the Federals could do nothing, but Lee concentrated a number of his brigades opposite Humphreys and Warren. The next day Lee felt strong enough to anticipate his adversary by striking a blow himself.

Mutual Bravery

Hurling his veterans against Warren's corps, he drove a part of them back with great loss, but, colliding with the rest of the Union force, the Confederates recoiled. Lee then assailed Sheridan, who had posted himself in front of Dinwiddie Court-House, at Five Forks. The attack was made with so much impetuosity that Sheridan's troopers were forced back; but, rallying behind a breastwork of earth and logs, a couple of brigades attacked the enemy in flank and checked them. Late in the afternoon the Confederates yielded

the ground they had gained, and the Unionists not only reoccupied it, but in several directions assumed positions more advanced than those held at the beginning of the action.

A part of Warren's corps was sent on the night of the 31st, to support Sheridan. They arrived at daybreak just in time to see the enemy's cavalry in full retreat. Thus reenforced, Sheridan promptly assumed the offensive, routing the Confederates, who fled tumultuously towards Petersburg.



APPOMATTOX AND VICINITY

Attack on Petersburg

On April 1st Grant opened a tremendous bombardment along his entire line, and ordered Wright, Parke and Ord, with their corps, to attack Petersburg the next morning at daybreak. This was done, the three corps charging across the thin belt of land between their own and the Confederate lines, and attacking so spiritedly that they swept like a tidal wave over the intrenchments that had defied them so long. General Humphreys, whose corps was on the left beyond Hatcher's Run, drove out the enemy from the work in his front and into his inner fortifications.

The Confederate generals strove with might and main to retrieve this crushing disaster which threatened the existence of the whole

army, but the utmost that could be done was to delay the Union advance until the Confederates could retreat. A small body of men, amid the general panic, held Fort Gregg for several hours, and the garrison of Fort Alexander stood to their guns. General Gibbon's division attacked repeatedly and with dauntless courage, but it was not until after two o'clock in the afternoon that Fort Gregg surrendered. Only thirty men were left out of the two hundred and fifty that composed the garrison a few hours before, but they had saved the Army of Northern Virginia for the time.

THE EFFECT OF THE SHELLS IN PETERSBURG

Startling News for Pres. Davis

On that day, which was Sunday, Jefferson Davis, while at church, was handed a despatch from General Lee, telling him that his outer lines had been forced, that he could resist only a few hours longer, and that Richmond must be evacuated without delay. During the forenoon, however, Lee succeeded in rallying his troops behind the inner defences. President Davis, members of his Cabinet, and the leading citizens made hurried preparations, and left the city for Charlotte, N. C. But thousands could not leave, and had to await the coming of their conquerors. An effort was made to employ two regiments of militia on duty in the city in the task of preserving

RICHMOND DURING THE EVACUATION

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order, but the militia would not obey the commands given them, the majority of them being residents of Richmond and men of family, who were anxious to look after the safety of their own homes.

A Wild Scene

"At nightfall a scene of the wildest confusion set in. There was a large quantity of liquor in the city, and the municipal authorities, as a measure of safety, ordered this to be destroyed. The heads of the casks were knocked in, and the liquor poured into the gutters. The worst classes of inhabitants, white and black, turned out *en masse*, and a rush was made for the business quarter in the lower part of the city. The commissary stores were appropriated in an amazingly short time—stores of considerable value, which had been denied to the hungry troops in the field. The shops of the merchants were broken open and entered at pleasure. The contents—jewelry, dry goods, provisions, property of all kinds—were seized and carried off by the rioters, the owners making no effort to save them, every one being convinced that the city would be sacked by the enemy the next day. Hundreds of drunken men and boys roamed through the streets, adding to the confusion by their cries and yells. To these noises were joined the shrieks and screams of terrified women and children.

"While this horror and confusion prevailed in the city, General Ewell was preparing to withdraw his forces from the north side of the James. His command was four thousand strong, and lay in and below the city, before the column of General Weitzel, who had been left by General Grant to watch for an opportunity to take the city.

A Singular Concert

The Federals had remained quiet during the day, but at nightfall all of the bands along their line commenced to play national airs. Ewell set his bands to work at a similar occupation, and this singular 'concert' was kept up until nearly midnight. Then everything grew silent, and the Unionists appearing to have no suspicion of the intentions of the Confederates, Ewell commenced to withdraw his troops from their lines towards Richmond. The men began to pass through the city about two o'clock, and it was near daylight when the last soldier was south of the James.

"A new horror was added to the scene. A large quantity of tobacco was stored in the great warehouses of the city. Some time previous to the evacuation, the Confederate Congress had ordered that, if the city had to be given up, the tobacco should be burned, in order to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. Unfortu-

nately, this tobacco was stored in localities where its destruction would be dangerous to the city itself. Appeals were made to the government to remove the tobacco to a place where the city would not be set on fire by it; but, as a matter of course, these appeals were disregarded. On the night of the 2d, General Ewell received orders from the government to burn the warehouses containing the tobacco. This order was obeyed; the ironclads in the James River were blown up, the few vessels at the wharves destroyed, and soon the last of the army was over the river and the three bridges leading to the south shore were given to the flames. Some unknown person fired the arsenal, and as the flames reached the magazine, the structure was blown to pieces, greatly injuring an adjoining building used as an almshouse, and killing several of the paupers there.

Great Destruction

"The flames spread from the tobacco warehouses to other parts of the city, and many buildings were fired by the mob, with the hope of being able to plunder them of their contents.

"By morning the city was in a fearful condition. A large part of it was in flames, and heavy clouds of smoke were floating over it. The wind was blowing directly across the city from the river, spreading the flames slowly and steadily. The lower streets were filled with a cowardly mob of negroes and low whites, shouting and cursing in wild fury. Houses and stores were being plundered. The people dwelling in the endangered quarter were busy moving their furniture into the Capitol square, where hundreds of women and children, rendered homeless by the fire, had sought refuge. The roar of the flames and the crash of falling buildings sounded high over everything, and the constant explosion of shells and ammunition added not a little to the horror of the scene.

Arrival of the Union Troopers

"Towards seven o'clock there was a violent commotion in the crowd, and the cry of 'Yankees! Yankees!' ran from mouth to mouth, while the rioters rushed towards the upper part of the city in the wildest alarm. In a short time a body of forty Federal troopers appeared, riding slowly along the street. Upon reaching the Capitol square they dismounted and took possession of the Capitol, from the roof of which their guidons were soon flying in the morning breeze—the first Union flags that had waved over the city since April, 1861." *

General Weitzel heard the strange sounds from the direction of

* James D. McCabe, Jr., "Life and Campaigns of General Robert E. Lee."

Richmond, and wondering what they could mean, advanced his picket line. Finding the Confederate works deserted, they were occupied, and a small detachment was sent forwards to learn the state of affairs in the city. Weitzel followed slowly with the rest of his two divi-

RICHMOND AFTER THE CONFLAGRATION

sions, which arrived several hours after the entrance of the cavalry. An eye-witness describes the scene:

"Stretching from the Exchange Hotel to the slopes of Church Hill, down the hill, through the valley, up the ascent to the hotel, was the array, with its unbroken line of blue, fringed with bright bayonets. Strains of martial music, flushed countenances, waving swords, betokened the victorious army. As the line turned at the Exchange Hotel into the upper street, the movement was the signal for a wild burst of cheers from each regiment. Shouts from a few

THE McLEAN HOUSE WHERE GENERAL LEE SURRENDERED TO GENERAL GRANT

negroes were the only responses. Through throngs of sullen spectators; along the line of fire; in the midst of the horrors of a conflagration, increased by the explosion of shells left by the retreating army; through curtains of smoke, through the vast aerial auditorium convulsed with the commotion of frightful sounds, moved the garish procession of the grand army, with brave music and bright banners and wild cheers."

THE LAST EXTREMITY

General Weitzel bent all his efforts towards extinguishing the flames, but they had gained such headway that a large part of the city was destroyed.

Death of Gen. Hill

General Lee, after rallying his troops behind his inner defences at Petersburg, felt strong enough to make an offensive movement. Gen. A. P. Hill flung his corps so vigorously against the Ninth Union Corps that for a brief while it looked as if it would be driven from its position. But in the supreme effort Hill was killed and his force compelled to retreat, though the Federals were held in check by Field's division of Longstreet's corps.

During the night which succeeded that day of desolation, Petersburg was evacuated and Lee began his retreat in the direction of Amelia Court-House to the northwest. Grant, knowing that the evacuation must soon occur, had anticipated it by sending Sheridan's cavalry and a force of infantry on the night of April 2d towards the Southside and Lynchburg railway, determined to prevent at all hazards the junction of Lee and Johnston. On the morning of the 4th the Union troops from Richmond joined those from Petersburg.

Retreat of Lee

Lee hoped to destroy some of the Union columns in detail, but the stores which he had ordered to be gathered at Amelia Court-House to await his army were carried by the railway train directly past the famishing men to Richmond, where they helped to swell the conflagration that was raging there. It was a mortal blow to the Confederates, who had not a day's rations with them, and the country was so shorn of all means of subsistence that it was impossible to march the long distance necessary to unite with the army of Johnston.

On the afternoon of the 4th, Sheridan cut the railway to Danville, between Amelia Court-House and Burkesville, and intrenching himself, awaited the arrival of Lee, whose soldiers were worn to the last degree of exhaustion. They were in rags and starving, marching day and night, charging, fighting, and falling back, with the grim conquerors forever closing around them. That officer or private counted himself fortunate who had a few grains of corn to eat. As the grizzled veterans straggled along the highway, they plucked the young buds from the trees and undergrowth, and greedily ate them. Many a time after the Confederates had rallied and fired a volley, half of the men would drop in the road sound asleep, to be awakened perhaps by the pursuing Federals close behind them. Many of the Confederates deserted, or, sitting down by the wayside, quietly waited for the enemy to come and make them prisoners. No soldiers ever showed greater bravery than they, and the wonder is that they were able to fight so well and to fight so long.

The Last Extremity

An effort to escape in the direction of Lynchburg was frustrated by the vigilant Unionists, and the following morning General Ord posted his advance guard across the roads in front of Lee. The graycoats charged and swept the obstructions from their path, but their rear was attacked by Sheridan and the infantry of the Second

Corps, on the 6th of April. The Confederates fought fiercely, but, finding escape impossible, threw down their arms and surrendered.

Lee, with what was left of his famishing veterans, pushed on towards Lynchburg, where supplies were awaiting him. Some of his officers advised him to surrender, but he was not yet ready to admit the necessity. The attempts of the Unionists to bar his retreat were repulsed with wonderful dash, but the end was inevitable. He saw that it could not be delayed many hours longer.

A Demand upon Lee for Surrender

On the 7th of April Grant sent a letter to Lee, reminding him that the result of the last week's operations must have convinced him that it was useless to resist longer, and that if there was further effusion of blood it would rest upon the shoulders of Lee, in case he refused to comply with the demand then made to surrender the Army of Northern Virginia.

The Confederate commander replied the same day, reciprocating the desire to avoid the shedding of more blood, but expressing his belief that his situation was not so hopeless as the Union leader thought. He asked what terms would be given in case of surrender.

Grant wrote on the 8th, demanding that the men surrendered should be disqualified from taking up arms against the United States until properly exchanged. He said that he would meet General Lee or would designate officers to meet any officers named by him, for the purpose of arranging the terms of surrender.

But Lee was not yet ready to yield. He asked for a personal interview, and proposed a meeting between the picket lines, to discuss the question of the restoration of peace. Grant replied on the 9th that peace could be brought about at once and in no other way by the South laying down its arms.

The Flag of Truce

Lee's hesitation was ended by the terrible "logic of events." His men suffered another severe defeat at the hands of Sheridan, on the morning of the 9th, he having cut off the line of retreat. Four provision trains approaching from Lynchburg were captured. A desperate attempt to cut through the Union ranks failed, and Sheridan gathered his troopers for the final charge upon the masses of woful Confederates, when a flag of truce was seen fluttering above their heads. The bearer rode forwards with the request for a suspension of hostilities until the terms of surrender could be arranged.*

* General Gordon says there was not a white handkerchief among all the officers, and it was a long time before anything resembling a flag of truce could be secured.

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

The two great military leaders met on the 9th of April, in a small dwelling near Appomattox Court-House, where the preliminaries of surrender were readily settled. The officers were to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the United States until properly exchanged; each company or regimental commander was to sign a similar parole on behalf of the men; and the arms, artillery,

LEE PARTING WITH HIS SOLDIERS

The Surrender

and public property were to be turned over to officers named by General Grant to receive them. The last condition did not include the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. "Take your horses home with you," said Grant; "you will need them for your spring ploughing."

General Grant did not ask General Lee to give up his sword, nor did Lee offer to do so.*

* One of the most singular coincidences in history is connected with Major McLean. The opening battle of the war, Bull Run, was fought mainly on his farm, and Beauregard made his headquarters in his house. Wishing to place his family beyond the scenes of hostilities, Major McLean soon after removed them to Fauquier. Thither the war followed, and another change was made to Lunenburg. This removal proved equally

The terms of General Grant were liberal and magnanimous, and will always be remembered with gratitude by the Southern people.

Strange were the emotions of the two armies when the momentous truth became known. To the Unionists it was an occasion of relief, exultation, and joy indescribable. The long, bloody, terrible war

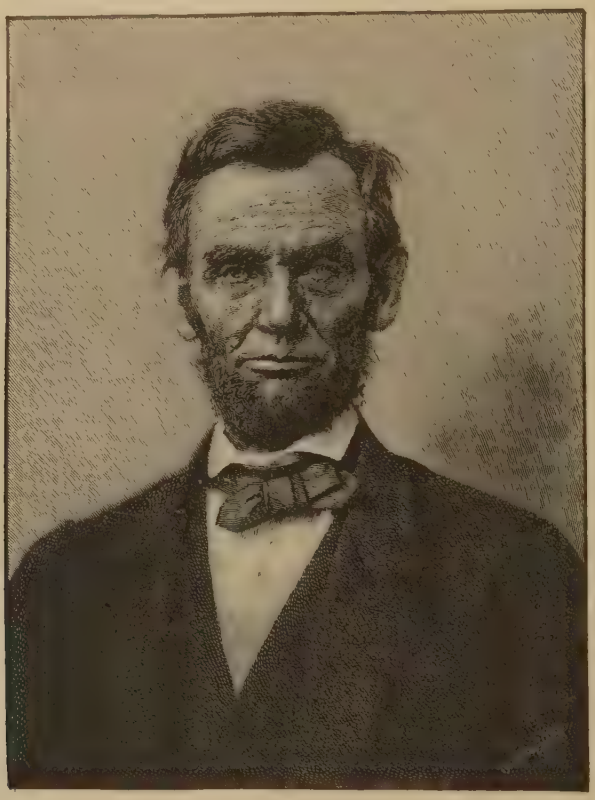
A RELIC IN RICHMOND

for the Union had triumphed at last—success, grand and overwhelming, had crowned what for so long a time had seemed a hopeless struggle.

useless, and in 1863 Major McLean came home on a furlough with the announcement: "This time I shall place you where you shall never hear the sound of a hostile gun." The house which he rented was the one on the Appomattox in which General Lee surrendered to General Grant. "So it came about," said the Major, "that the war began and ended on me."

To the Confederates it was a feeling of relief—such as comes to the wearied watcher, after sitting by the bedside of a friend beyond help, and suffering intensely, when at last the agonizing struggle is over.

When General Lee was seen returning from his interview with General Grant, his soldiers broke their ranks, and with tears stream-



LINCOLN IN 1865

Lee's Farewell

ing down their cheeks crowded around their leader, who was so overcome that he could not speak. When the mist was partly cleared from his eyes, and he was able to command his voice, he exclaimed, "We have fought through the war together; I have done the best I could for you."

Not a Union soldier who looked on the scene was untouched by its pathos. The victors were considerate and generous. They carefully refrained from saying or doing anything that could wound the

Lee's Surrender to Grant, Appomattox, April 9th, 1865.

H. A. Ogden.

bleeding hearts around them. They divided their rations with the Confederates, pressed upon them their choice of all they had to offer, and (such is human nature) the boys in blue and in gray were soon cracking merry jests with each other, and happy in the thought that henceforth and forevermore they should remain brothers against all the world.

Appomattox

On the 12th of April the Confederates marched by divisions to a designated spot near Appomattox Court-House, where the troops stacked their arms and laid down their accoutrements. About seven thousand five hundred with arms surrendered, but nearly eighteen thousand unarmed stragglers were included. Two thousand cavalry under Fitzhugh Lee and Rosser had effected their escape a short time before, but they surrendered soon after on the same terms. The officers and men were paroled, the army disbanded, and the men set out for their homes.

General Lee and his staff had started for Richmond, which they reached on the afternoon of the 12th. As he entered the city he was recognized by citizens and Union soldiers, who joined in heartily cheering him. He raised his hat in response, and when he reined up and dismounted in front of his own home, he was obliged to shake hands with many who crowded around him. Freeing himself as soon as he could, he joined his family, where none ventured to intrude upon him.

It is a striking proof of the respect universally entertained for General Lee, that although his family remained in Richmond all through the frightful rioting, conflagration, and uproar of April 2d, yet they suffered no molestation, and as soon as the Unionists obtained possession of the city they scrupulously protected the home from all disturbance and danger.

The News in Washington

When the news of Lee's surrender was received in Washington, the War Department ordered a salute of two hundred guns to be fired at the headquarters of every army and department, at every post and arsenal in the United States, and at the Military Academy at West Point. The North was aflame with bonfires and rejoicing, and though it was known that Johnston was still in the field with his army, his surrender was certain within a brief time.

From no heart ascended more sincere gratitude to heaven than from that of President Lincoln, and yet, rejoicing as he did, his noble nature was oppressed with sorrowful memories of those that had

fallen, and glowed with a sympathy for the men who had fought so gallantly for four years, only to go down at last in gloom and disaster.

On the evening of April 14th, the President, wearied, accepted an invitation to attend a performance at Ford's Theatre in Washington. He would have preferred to decline the invitation, but yielded to the wishes of his wife. In addition to these two, the theatre box was occupied by Miss Harris and Major Rathbone, daughter and stepson of Senator Harris, of New York. General Grant expected to join them in the course of the evening, but was kept away by business.

It was a few minutes past ten o'clock when John Wilkes Booth, an actor, entered the theatre and moved around to the outer passage of the box where the President sat. He was stopped by a messenger stationed there to keep intruders away, but presented his card and said the President had sent for him. He was then admitted.

Assassination of Lincoln

Booth entered the box so stealthily that no one heard him. He softly closed the door and inserted a short plank, which he had carefully prepared and brought with him, between the moulding of the door and an indentation in the wall, so as to hold the door shut and prevent any one following him. He then walked a few steps through a dark passage and passed another door. He had previously loosened the screws of the spring lock on each door, so that if fastened they would not prevent his entrance. Indeed, all the arrangements were so perfect that it was believed that Spangler, an attache of the theatre, must have given him help.

President Lincoln sat in the left-hand corner of the box, with his wife on his right. Slightly farther to the right was Miss Harris, with Major Rathbone at her left, and just behind her and Mrs. Lincoln, not one being aware of the baleful shadow behind them. Booth held a long two-edged dagger in his left hand, and a small Derringer pistol in his right. Resting this on the back of the President's chair, he pointed the muzzle at his head and fired.

The ball entered directly behind the left ear and lodged in the brain. The President shuddered, swayed slightly, closed his eyes, and without speaking or other change of position, became unconscious.

Upon hearing the report of the pistol, Major Rathbone turned like a flash and saw a strange man between him and the President. He leaped forwards to seize him, but dropping his pistol, Booth struck

Rathbone a vicious blow in the arm, tore himself free, and resting one hand on the railing of the box, leaped upon the stage. While doing so, his spur caught in the folds of the flag draping the Presi-

BOX AT FORD'S THEATRE IN WHICH PRESIDENT LINCOLN WAS ASSASSINATED

dent's box, and he stumbled and sprained his ankle. Quickly recovering, he strode out upon the stage, brandished his dagger, and shouted:

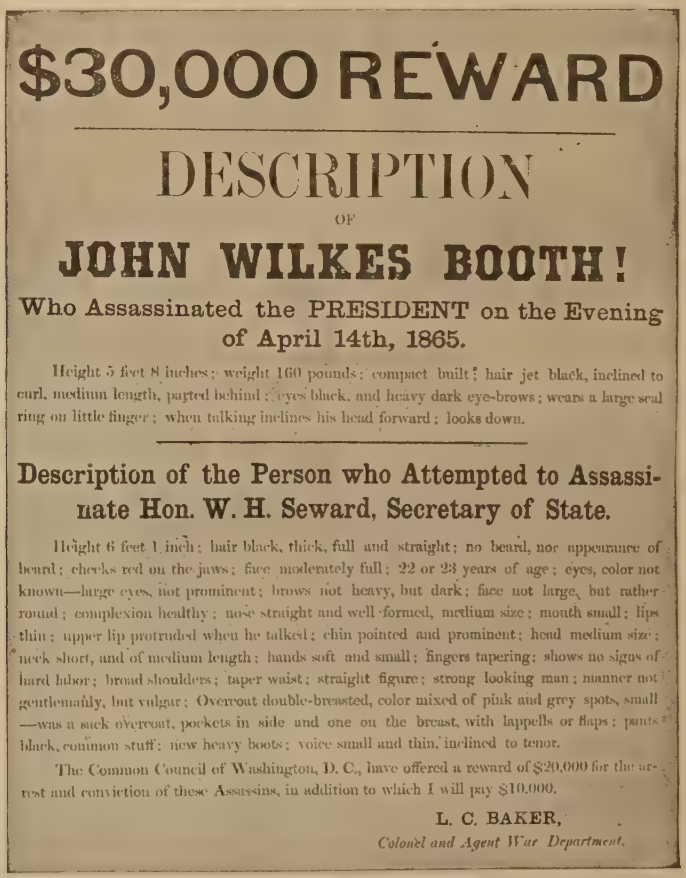
"*Sic semper tyrannis!* The South is avenged!"

Then he hurried to the farther side of the stage and passed out. A saddled horse was waiting, and, leaping upon his back, the assassin galloped headlong from the city.

Action of Booth

It was several moments before the audience comprehended the awful crime that had been committed before their eyes. Then consternation and uncontrollable excitement reigned. Miss Keene, the

actress, stepped to the front of the stage and besought the audience to be calm. She entered the President's box with water and stimulants, while messengers ran for medical help.* The President was



$30,000 REWARD

DESCRIPTION

OF

JOHN WILKES BOOTH!

Who Assassinated the PRESIDENT on the Evening of April 14th, 1865.

Height 5 feet 8 inches; weight 160 pounds; compact built; hair jet black, inclined to curl, medium length, parted behind; eyes black, and heavy dark eye-brows; wears a large seal ring on little finger; when talking inclines his head forward; looks down.

Description of the Person who Attempted to Assassinate Hon. W. H. Seward, Secretary of State.

Height 6 feet 1 inch; hair black, thick, full and straight; no beard, nor appearance of beard; cheeks red on the jaws; face moderately full; 22 or 23 years of age; eyes, color not known—large eyes, not prominent; brows not heavy, but dark; face not large, but rather round; complexion healthy; nose straight and well-formed, medium size; mouth small; lips thin; upper lip protruded when he talked; chin pointed and prominent; head medium size; neck short, and of medium length; hands soft and small; fingers tapering; shows no signs of hard labor; broad shoulders; taper waist; straight figure; strong looking man; manner not gentlemanly, but vulgar; Overcoat double-breasted, color mixed of pink and grey spots, small—was a sack overcoat, pockets in side and one on the breast, with lappells or flaps; pants black, common stuff; new heavy boots; voice small and thin, inclined to tenor.

The Common Council of Washington, D. C., have offered a reward of $20,000 for the arrest and conviction of these Assassins, in addition to which I will pay $10,000.

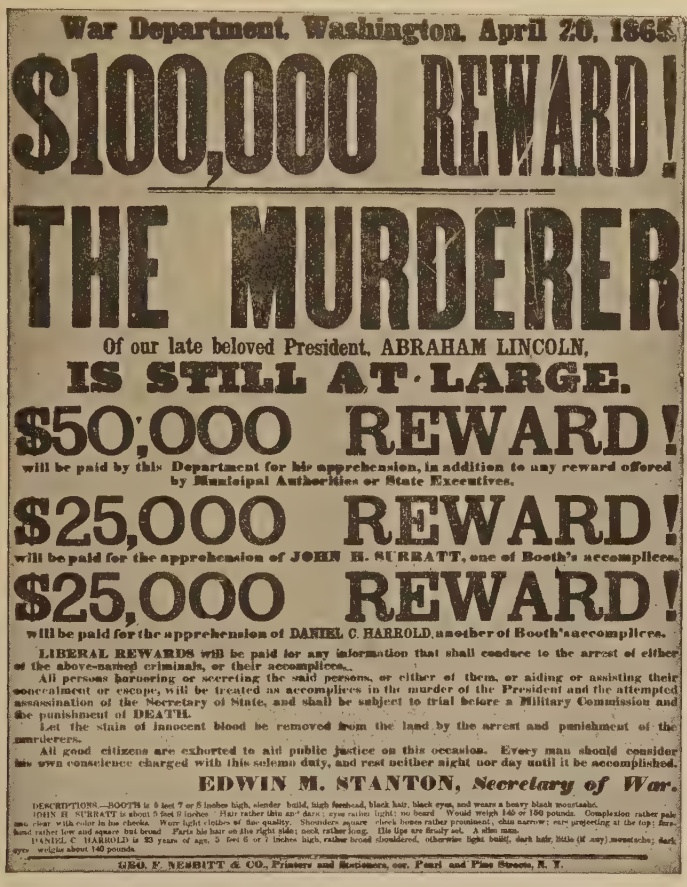
L. C. BAKER,
Colonel and Agent War Department.

REPRODUCTION OF A "REWARD" POSTER IN FAC-SIMILE

carried to the house of Mr. Peterson, opposite the theatre, where he died at twenty-two minutes past seven the next morning.

* Strange as it may seem, Booth gave offence to many of his friends by his uncompromising Union sentiments. His controlling motive in the commission of this appalling crime was an insane conceit. His most intimate friend told the writer that for weeks previous he had declared his purpose of doing something which would make his name ring round the world. Woful indeed was his success. The President's wound scarcely bled at all, and the stains on Miss Keene's dress, which she afterwards claimed were caused by the blood of President Lincoln, were really produced by the hurt on Major Rathbone's arm, which bled freely.

About the same time that President Lincoln was shot, an attempt was made to assassinate Secretary Seward, who was in bed suffering from a fall. A stranger applied for admission, and being refused,



War Department, Washington, April 20, 1865.

$100,000 REWARD!

THE MURDERER

Of our late beloved President, ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

IS STILL AT LARGE.

$50,000 REWARD!

will be paid by this Department for his apprehension, in addition to any reward offered by Municipal Authorities or State Executives.

$25,000 REWARD!

will be paid for the apprehension of JOHN H. SURRATT, one of Booth's accomplices.

$25,000 REWARD!

will be paid for the apprehension of DANIEL C. HARROLD, another of Booth's accomplices.

LIBERAL REWARDS will be paid for any information that shall conduce to the arrest of either of the above-named criminals, or their accomplices.

All persons harboring or secreting the said persons, or either of them, or aiding or assisting their concealment or escape, will be treated as accomplices in the murder of the President and the attempted assassination of the Secretary of State, and shall be subject to trial before a Military Commission and the punishment of DEATH.

Let the stain of innocent blood be removed from the land by the arrest and punishment of the murderers.

All good citizens are exhorted to aid public justice on this occasion. Every man should consider his own conscience charged with this solemn duty, and rest neither night nor day until it be accomplished.

EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

DESCRIPTIONS.—BOOTH is 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, slender build, high forehead, black hair, black eyes, and wears a heavy black moustache.
JOHN H. SURRATT is about 5 feet 9 inches. Hair rather thin and dark; eyes rather light; no beard. Would weigh 140 or 150 pounds. Complexion rather pale and clear with color in the cheeks. Wore light clothes of fine quality. Shoulders square; neck hones rather prominent; chin narrow; ears projecting at the top; forehead rather low and square but broad. Parts his hair on the right side; neck rather long. His lips are finely cut. A fine man.
DANIEL C. HARROLD is 23 years of age, 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, rather broad shouldered, otherwise light build; dark hair, little (if any) moustache; dark eyes; weighs about 140 pounds.

GEO. F. NESBITT & CO., Printers and Stationers, cor. Pearl and Pine Streets, N. Y.

REPRODUCTION OF A "REWARD" POSTER IN FAC-SIMILÉ

said he had some medicine for the secretary, and pushed by the servant. The slight disturbance roused others in the house. The son of Mr. Seward tried to stop the intruder, and was knocked insensible by a vicious blow with a pistol on his head. The stranger darted upstairs to the door of Mr. Seward's room on the third floor. Inside was the Secretary's daughter and George Robinson, a sailor, who was attending Mr. Seward. Robinson opened the door to learn the cause of the disturbance. The assassin, who was a powerful man, struck

The Attack on Seward

Robinson as he dashed into the room. The sailor immediately grappled with him, and a fierce struggle followed, the stranger continually trying to reach the sick man, who was wounded severely in the face and neck, and fell from the bed to the floor. Then, seeing that the whole house was aroused, the assassin fled down stairs, stabbing Major Seward, the eldest son of the Secretary, and then, like Booth, he mounted a waiting horse and galloped off.

"BOSTON" CORBETT

The belief that a conspiracy was afoot for the assassination of the leading officers of the government caused General Grant to take immediate steps to protect the city against outbreak. Secretary of War Stanton took charge of affairs, and guards were placed about the persons of Vice-President Johnson and others, while the whole detective force of the Government was set to work to learn the truth of the conspiracy and to bring the criminals to justice.

Suspicion pointed to John Surratt as the assassin of Secretary Seward. His mother lived in Washington, and her house was known to be the meeting-place for disloyalists. It was seized, and a man who said his name was Payne called early on the 18th, claiming to be a laborer that had called to make some repairs. The detectives quickly discovered that his hair was dyed, and soon after he was identified as the man that had attempted the life of Secretary Seward.

Pursuit of Booth

All this time the pursuit of Booth was pressed. He rode into Maryland with Daniel C. Harrold, another conspirator. From Maryland the fugitives fled into Virginia and took refuge in a barn, belonging to a Mr. Garrett, near Port Royal on the Rappahannock, where they were brought to bay, April 26th. The barn was surrounded by cavalry, who called upon the two to surrender. Booth refused, but Harrold came out and gave himself up. Booth cursed his companion for his cowardice, and, although suffering from his

lame ankle, offered to fight the captain and his men single-handed. The captain replied to this wild challenge by setting fire to the barn. By the glare Booth was seen leaning on a crutch, carbine in hand, looking for a chance to shoot as he limped towards the door.

It was at this juncture that Sergeant "Boston" Corbett, against orders, fired through a crevice in the barn and shot Booth in the

CITY HALL, NEW YORK, DURING THE LINCOLN OBSEQUIES

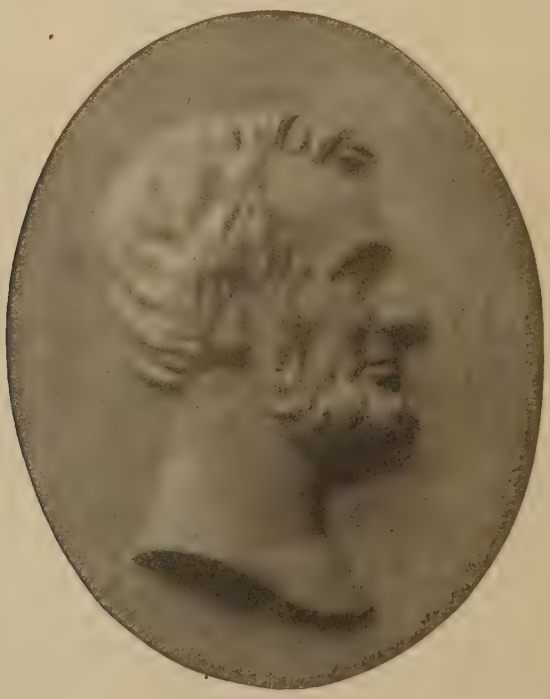
Death of Booth

neck. He was now utterly helpless, and was carried out and laid on the grass, where, after four hours of intense agony, he died. His body was taken to Washington, and a post-mortem examination made on board the steamer *Montauk*. It is claimed that on the night of the 27th of April the corpse was sunk in the Potomac, but its final disposition is not known with certainty.

Five of the conspirators were tried, and four hanged. They were Payne, Daniel C. Harrold, George A. Atzerodt, and Mrs. Mary A. Surratt. Had the trial been delayed until after the excitement had cooled, it is not probable that Mrs. Surratt would have been exe-

PERIOD VI
THE WAR FOR THE UNION
1861 TO 1865

cuted. Dr. Samuel A. Mudd dressed the ankle of Booth, and the belief that he was in sympathy with the conspirators caused his sentence to the Dry Tortugas for a term of years. Because of his services there during an epidemic of yellow fever, he was pardoned, and, returning to his home in Maryland, died some years later. John



A LINCOLN MEDALLION

Surratt escaped to Italy and enlisted in the Papal Guards, where he was discovered by Archbishop Hughes. The Italian Government surrendered him as an act of courtesy, and he was put on trial. The jury disagreed, and on the second trial he was acquitted on the plea of limitations. Spangler, the scene-shifter who aided Booth, was sent to the Dry Tortugas, where he died.

The Universal Grief

The whole North was thrown into mourning by the death of President Lincoln. Sorrow, grief, and indignation filled every heart. It was worth a man's life to cast a slur upon his memory. Even the South soon saw that it had lost its truest and best friend, for no man was so willing nor so powerful to extend the hand of charity and to give to the people the privileges for which they hardly dared to

hope, and which, because of his death, were denied them through long and bitter years. One of the significant and touching facts is that the most appreciative tributes to the memory of the martyred President have fallen from many of the leaders who fought under the stars and bars.

The body of Mr. Lincoln was embalmed, and funeral services held in the East Room of the White House. Then the remains were taken to the rotunda of the Capitol and viewed by the grief-stricken thousands. The funeral train left Washington on the 21st, going thence to Philadelphia and New York, and thence westward to Springfield, Ill., where it arrived on the morning of May 3d, and the following day was deposited in its final resting-place. It may be said that every mile of the long journey was marked by the mourning and grief of the people, who loved and revered the martyr as they loved and revered no other man.

The Lincoln Obsequies

In another place we have attempted to give an estimate of the character of Abraham Lincoln, but nothing can be so fitting a tribute as his own immortal words, uttered at the dedication of the soldiers' monument at Gettysburg, on the 4th of July, 1864:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation—or any nation so conceived and dedicated—can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of the war. We are met to dedicate a portion of it as the final resting-place of those who here gave their lives that the nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will very little note nor long remember what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here.

A Classical Speech

"It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that they have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion; that we may here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died

in vain; that the nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Under the corner-stone of the monument at Springfield, Ill., is registered the following estimate of Mr. Lincoln, by the Hon. George S. Boutwell, ex-Secretary of the Treasury:

A Well-Merited Tribute

"President Lincoln excelled all his contemporaries, as he also excelled most of the eminent rulers of every time, in the humanity of his nature; in the constant assertion of reason over passion and feeling; in the art of dealing with men; in fortitude, never disturbed by aversity; in capacity for delay when action was fraught with peril; in the power of immediate and resolute decision when delays were dangerous; in comprehensive judgment which forecasts the final and best opinions of nations and of posterity; and in the union of enlarged patriotism, wise philanthropy, and the highest political justice, by which he was enabled to save a nation and to emancipate a race."

It will be recalled that after General Sherman had led his army to Goldsborough, N. C., he went north to hold a consultation with General Grant. General Johnston, his adversary, failing to check the Union advance, fell back to Smithfield. The Federal cavalry spent several days in burning depots and stores, and in destroying railways and bridges along the lines of retreat that the Confederates would be likely to take.

At the same time the Union cavalry were active in other quarters. The town of Selma, Ala., where the iron monster *Tennessee* was constructed, was of great value to the Confederacy. Gen. James H. Wilson had been fighting his way towards Selma from Eastport, Miss., with nearly 15,000 men, of whom all but 2,000 were mounted.

Action of the Union Cavalry

April 2d, he was approaching the town, with a division 6,000 strong, when his advance was checked by Gen. N. B. Forrest, strongly posted with 5,000 men near Plantersville. Four mounted companies of the Seventeenth Indiana charged under Lieut.-Col. Frank White. They rode over the enemy's guns, and then cut their way out with the loss of seventeen men. General Alexander and Gen. Emory Upton then charged the Confederate left and routed it, capturing 200 men and thirty-two guns. Near Selma, Forrest formed another strong line in the shape of a semicircle three miles long. Wilson had 9,000 men and Forrest 7,000, reenforcements having arrived from Selma. The Federals assaulted late in the afternoon, and com-

pletely routed the enemy, capturing Selma and 2,700 prisoners. The Union loss was nearly 500 killed or wounded. The loss of Selma was one of the finishing blows to the Confederate cause. On the 12th of the same month, Mobile, after a brief siege, surrendered to General Canby.

Two days previous to this, Sherman had moved against Johnston, who retreated before him. Both leaders learned of the surrender of Lee, and when Sherman was at Greensborough, Johnston, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, sent a proposal to Sherman for negotiations. The proposal was accepted, and the two leaders had a personal interview on the 17th. In the exultation of conquest, Sherman granted terms to Johnston which affected the political status of the States lately in rebellion, and which, if ratified by our Government, would have amounted to a virtual surrender to the Confederacy. General Sherman had passed beyond his rights, and received a sharp reminder from Secretary Stanton (which deeply offended Sherman) that his agreement was disapproved. On the 26th of April, Johnston capitulated on the same terms that had been granted to Lee. On the 4th of May, Gen. Dick Taylor surrendered the remainder of the Confederate forces east of the Mississippi, and on the same day Admiral Farrand surrendered to Admiral Thatcher all the naval forces of the Confederacy which were then blockaded on the Tombigbee River. Kirby Smith, beyond the Mississippi, was still breathing defiance, but it did not last long. His soldiers deserted so fast that he saw that he would soon be without a command. He, Magruder, Walker, and other officers fled beyond the limits of the United States, and the remnants of their forces were surrendered by General Brent to General Canby on the 26th of May.*

Sherman and Johnston

An abiding interest will always attach to the greatest war of modern times. The losses on either side can never be accurately determined, since the deaths of thousands during the ten or more years succeeding the close of hostilities were directly attributable to wounds or ailments caused by the war. Probably about 1,500,000 men of the North took an effective part in the struggle. Of these

The Men Engaged

* The Confederacy had six full Generals during the war: Samuel Cooper, A. S. Johnston, R. E. Lee, J. E. Johnston, P. G. T. Beauregard, and Braxton Bragg, ranking in the order named. E. Kirby Smith was created a General (temporarily) when he relieved Jo Johnston. J. E. Johnston did not hold the rank of Lieutenant-General at any time. The Confederate Congress originally provided for five Brigadier-Generals, and Johnston was one of the five. He was afterwards promoted to General when that office was created.

56,000 were killed in battle, and 35,000 died of wounds in hospitals, while 184,000 died from diseases contracted in the army. Of the 180,000 colored men enlisted, 29,298 died from disease. The losses sustained by the South are more speculative, but they probably equalled those of the North. This brings the total to about 600,000, to which must be added 400,000 permanently disabled by disease or crippled by wounds. That stupendous conflict therefore aggregates a million lives lost and ruined. Of the 220,000 Confederates made prisoners, 24,436 died of wounds or disease during their captivity. Some 200,000 Federals were captured, of whom about 40,000 died in prison.

The Total Losses

Leaders of the Southern Confederacy

The Southern Confederacy had but one President and Vice-President, and the Secretary of the Navy was the only member of the Cabinet not changed during the war. There were four Secretaries of State. Robert Toombs held the portfolio five months; R. M. T. Hunter, seven months; W. M. Browne was *ad interim*, and Judah P. Benjamin was the last, continuing to the end.

There were five in the office of Attorney-General, Benjamin, Thomas Bragg, Thomas H. Watts, Wade Keyes, *ad interim*, and George Davis. The Secretaries of the Treasury were Charles G. Memminger, up to 1864, succeeded by George Trenholm. Henry T. Ellet was offered the place of Postmaster-General in 1861, and declined. John H. Reagan was appointed and held office to the last.

There were six Secretaries of War, in the order named: LeRoy P. Walker, Judah P. Benjamin, Gen. G. W. Randolph, Major-Gen. G. W. Smith, James A. Sedden, John C. Breckinridge. Benjamin held three Cabinet positions.

The Provisional Congress held five sessions. The first at Montgomery, Ala., February 4, 1861, adjourning March 16th to meet in May. The war, however, caused it to meet April 29th, and it adjourned May 21st, and met in Richmond, July, 1861. The session lasted until August 31st. A one-day session of the Confederate Congress was held September 3, 1861. The fifth session met November 18, 1861, and lasted until February 17, 1862. This was the end of the Provisional Congress.

The First Congress succeeded and continued in session two months. The second session met in August and lasted two months. The third session was from January 3, 1863, until May 1st. The last session adjourned February 17, 1864. The first session of the Second Congress met May 2, 1864, and lasted until June. The second session met November 7th, and adjourned March 18, 1865.

There were one hundred members of the lower house of the Provisional Congress, but no Senate until 1862. The First Congress was complete, having two senators from each of the thirteen States.

In numerous cases—notably those of McKee *vs.* Rains, 10th Wallace, 22; United States *vs.* Anderson, 9th Wallace, 561; McElrath *vs.* United States—the Supreme Court has decided that "The rebellion was closed, in all cases where private rights are affected by the time of its termination, August 20th, 1866."

What Might have Been

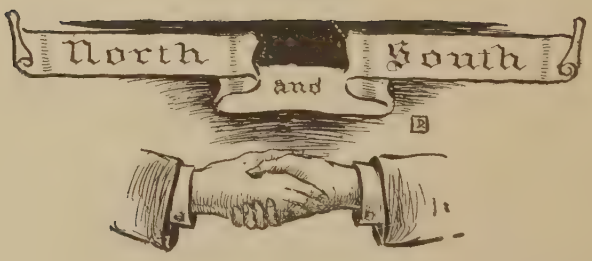
No one who has given attention to the war for the Union can have failed to speculate on what the result would have been had the South gained its independence. Views differ, and, of necessity, all are speculation. It seems incredible that two American nations, with a common history and the same glorious heritages, could have continued their existence, side by side, without any natural boundaries separating them, and with their interests closely interwoven. One of the most thoughtful expressions on this subject was made at Savannah, by Judge Emory Speer to the Grand Jury of the United States District Court. He was a Confederate soldier, and after calling attention to the fact that the District Attorney and the United States Marshal were also Confederate veterans, he said:

"Suppose that we had succeeded in our late effort to disrupt the Government and establish an independent government of our own, what would have been the condition of the people of the South? In all the light which the lapse of years has thrown upon that terrible struggle and upon its results, it cannot be denied by thinking and philosophic minds that our condition would have been much worse than it now is. We would have been a strong military government as a matter of necessity. Those of us who are of the appropriate military age would have been in the standing army or in the navy. Our boundaries would have bristled with forts. Opposed as we would have been by the spirited people of the northern section of this country, a people noted as well for courage and determination, we would have constant wars. We would have been taxed into a condition of poverty which the people could not have borne.

Judge Speer's Words

"The very men who attempted to separate the country are now actually combining for its welfare, taking a patriotic interest in its councils, and discharging with impartiality and devotion its public functions and duties. No other people can point in its history to such an instance of magnanimity on the part of the Government. If Poland, with far greater reason to attempt to establish an independent sovereignty than the South had, should do so and meet with defeat, the leaders would die under the knout or expiate their lives in

Siberian mines. But here we witness in this great Government which we tried to overturn, and in this court, the fact that the Marshal and the District Attorney were gallant Confederate soldiers, and that the Judge himself had the impudence to fire on the flag of his country from the outworks of two of the cities in which he now holds his courts. Certainly such a Government, so magnanimous, with such laws, deserves the full, free, and unreserved support of all its people."

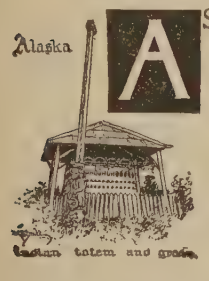


Period VII—The New United States

CHAPTER LXXVIII

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION, 1865–1869

[*Authorities:* One of the most striking incidents in connection with the Civil War, the bailing of Jefferson Davis, is recorded in this chapter. When nearly everybody in the North was urging that the President of the Confederacy should be hanged as a traitor, one of the greatest of newspaper editors came forward with the contention that Mr. Davis should either be tried or released. His great influence led to the release of the celebrated prisoner. Later developments proved the wisdom and justice of Mr. Greeley's demand, for after the appointment of several dates for the trial of Mr. Davis, it was finally abandoned, and the President of the Southern Confederacy was permitted to spend his declining years in his beloved "sunny South" without molestation. If no better evidence of Mr. Greeley's magnanimity could be furnished, this would prove that he was much in advance of his time. Another interesting episode recorded in this chapter is the voluntary visit of Henry Ward Beecher to England. During that visit, probably the most thrilling incident was his attempt to address a hostile audience of five thousand people in Manchester, England. It was at a time when the North had no prominent friends there except John Bright and a few others. Mr. Beecher encountered a howling and hostile mob, but by the sheer force of his eloquence he compelled them to listen to him, finally to applaud and then agree with him. Since the Philippics of Demosthenes no greater triumph of oratory is recorded in history. See Draper, Greeley, Stephens, Abbott, Pollard, Lossing, and Headley on the Civil War.]



AS provided by the Constitution, Andrew Johnson became President upon the death of Mr. Lincoln. He was sworn into office on the 15th of April, the same day that saw the death of the martyr. It will be noted that the surrender of Johnston's army and the punishment of the conspirators, as already narrated, took place during the administration of the seventeenth President.

Andrew Johnson was born December 29, 1808. at Raleigh, N. C.

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

His father was too poor to send him to school, and when only ten years old the boy was apprenticed to a tailor. At that time he hardly knew his alphabet. Near the shop lived a kind-hearted man, who used to call quite often and read to the youths. This stirred the ambition of the boy, who learned to read. While yet a lad he removed to Greenville, Tenn., and there married a noble woman, who acted as his instructor. Thus he acquired a fair education, and soon took part in local politics. That he possessed ability was proved by his being twice elected alderman, twice mayor of the city, after which he was sent three times to the State legislature, and in 1843 to Congress, where he remained until 1853, when he was chosen governor of Tennessee. He became a United States Senator in 1857. He was an ardent Democrat, but when the storm of secession swept over his State, no man was more intensely Union than he. His violent expressions against the secessionists, who he declared ought to be hanged, led to an attempt to lynch him, in May, 1861, on his return home. He met the mob, revolver in hand, as they entered his car, and drove them out again.

The Seventeenth President

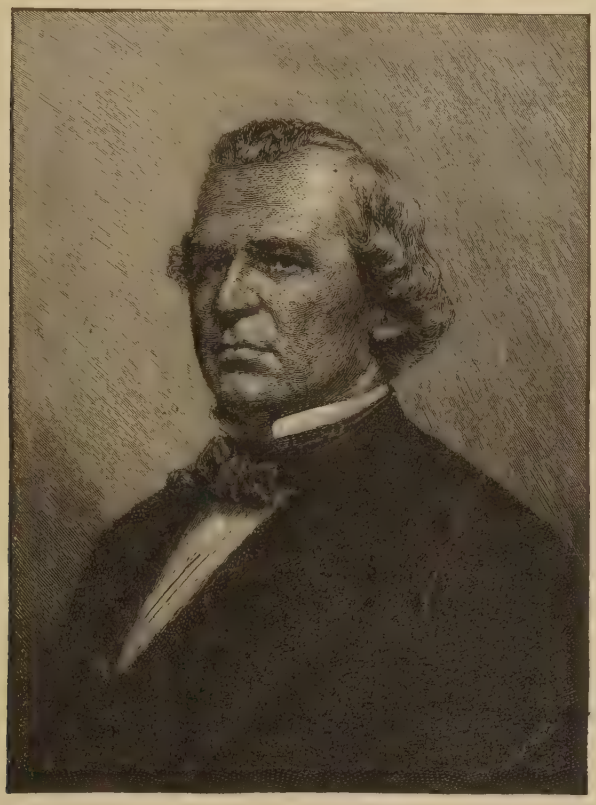
His dauntless courage, his ability, and his aggressive Union sentiments led President Lincoln to appoint him military governor of Tennessee in 1862. He showed the same boldness he had displayed from the first, and won the regard of the North to that degree that the satisfaction was general when he was nominated for the vice-presidency in 1864.

It will be remembered that Jefferson Davis and his Cabinet became fugitives upon the evacuation of Richmond in April, 1865. There was fear that he would reach Kirby Smith in the Southwest, and, with his help, attempt to prolong the life of the Confederacy. Orders, therefore, were sent to Gen. J. H. Wilson to use every effort with his cavalry to capture the fleeing President. The latter had too much sense not to see that the cause of secession was dead, but he hoped that with Kirby Smith's help he could secure better terms for himself and other leaders.

Capture of Jefferson Davis

With a small party of paroled soldiers as his escort, Davis and his companions fled through Georgia, in continual fear of meeting the Union cavalry, who they knew were near at hand searching for them. It was not yet light, on the morning of May 10th, when Mr. Davis, who was sleeping in his tent at Irwinsville, in Wilkinson County, was roused by his frightened servant with the news that

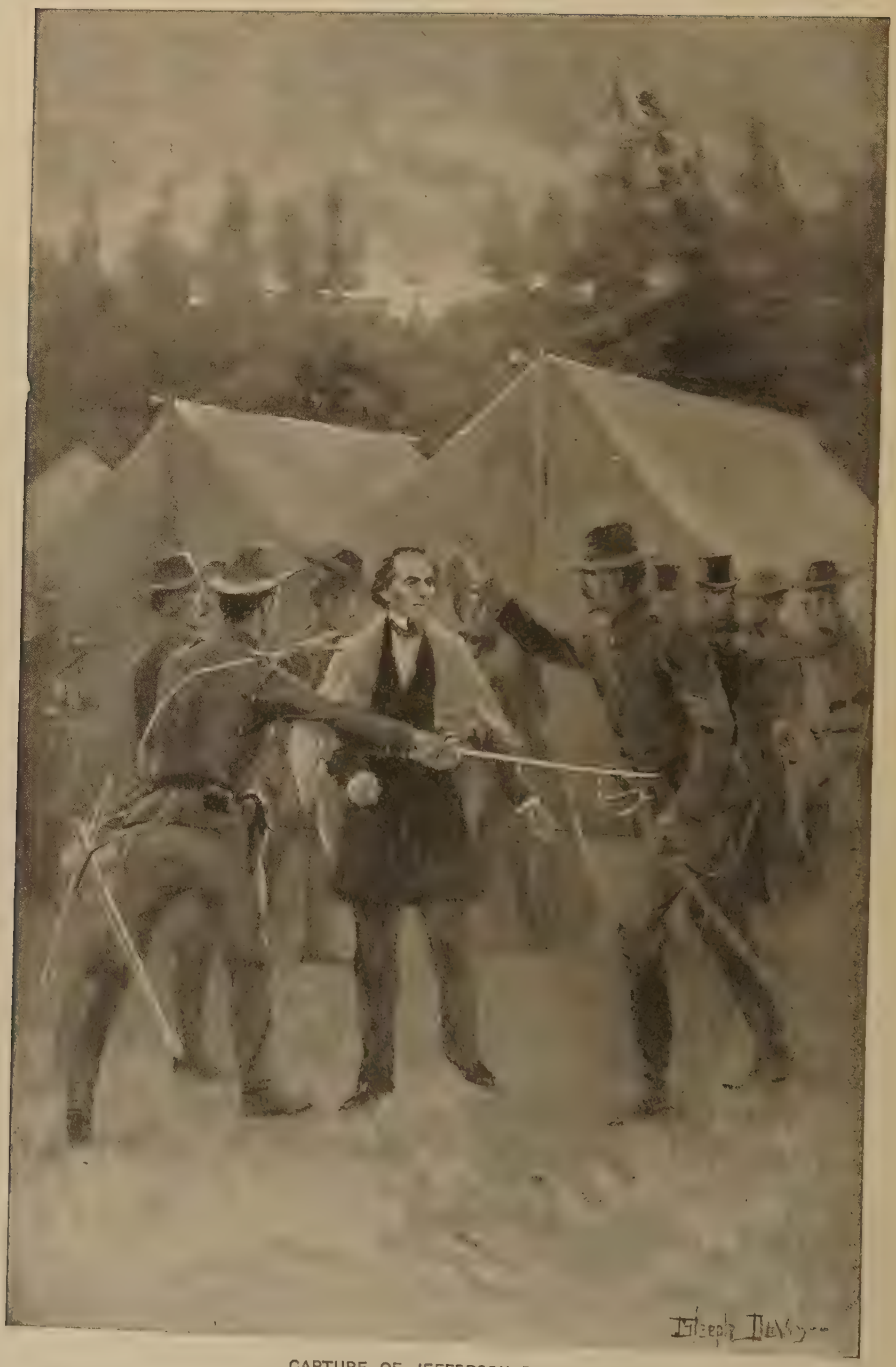
their camp was virtually captured by a force of Union cavalry. The fugitive leaped to his feet and ran for his horse, but the animal had been secured by the Unionists. Then, partially disguising himself, he tried to pass out of the camp, but was identified and taken prisoner. The party thus captured included Mr. Davis, his wife and



ANDREW JOHNSON

children, Mr. Reagan, his postmaster-general, Col. Burton Harrison, his private secretary, and his aides-de-camp. They were taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard, of the Fourth Michigan cavalry, and a small force attached to the corps of General Wilson.

When the doom of the Southern Confederacy was at hand, the question was asked President Lincoln as to what would be done with the Confederate President. That shrewd man expressed the wish that if Mr. Davis should make an honest effort to get out of the



CAPTURE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS

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FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY J. STEEPLE DAVIS

country, he might succeed. No one saw more clearly than President Lincoln the difficulty in fixing upon the wisest course to be pursued with the prisoner. Many demanded that he should be hanged as a traitor to his government, but he was no more a traitor than millions of his countrymen. Besides, the question whether or not the Constitution forbade the withdrawal of a State from the Union, when it believed it had sufficient grievance, was one that had never been authoritatively settled. New England threatened such action in the war of 1812, and might have taken it, had the struggle lasted a year or two longer.

A Problem

Furthermore, the execution of Davis, Lee, or any of the leaders of the South would have alienated that section for ages, precipitated bloodshed, strife, and misery for generations, and rendered impossible the reconciliation for which nearly every heart yearned.

However, the Confederate President was a prisoner, and the problem was before us. He and his male companions were taken to Macon, and thence to Fort Monroe. There Mr. Davis was kept until his health suffered. The date of his trial was fixed several times, but postponed. Finally, May 13, 1867, he was released on bail for six months. Horace Greeley, the well-known editor of the New York *Tribune*, made a journey to Richmond to become one of the bondsmen. "I say they ought to try or release you," he remarked as he shook hands with Mr. Davis, who thanked him for his kindness and agreed with his sentiments. Other postponements of the trial followed, and finally the prosecution was dropped, February 6, 1869.

The "Irrepressible Conflict"

In reviewing the salient features of the mighty struggle from 1861 to 1865 to preserve the Union, our record would be incomplete without a reference to the moral and intellectual forces that were as potent in their way as the armies in the field. The trend of events, as already set forth, proves that the conflict between slavery and freedom was, in the language of Secretary Seward "an irrepressible conflict." The whole country must sooner or later become all slave or all free, and Heaven decreed that the victory should be on the side of liberty.

A few years before the opening of the tremendous conflict (1852), "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was published. It was written by Harriet Beecher Stowe, and was a work which in its way has never been surpassed, if equalled. The authoress (born in 1812, died in 1896)

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

was a member of the remarkable Beecher family, and her production was that of a genius. Its wonderful pictures of slave life stirred to the profoundest depths myriads of minds that were deaf to the appeals of politicians. It stimulated abolition sentiments, and created a widespread anti-slavery feeling. A half-million copies were sold in the States within the following five years; it was put upon the stage, and is still popular as a dramatic production, and it was translated into all of the leading languages.

The Abolitionists

The leading abolitionists of the North made little impress upon public sentiment. They were as unpopular with the majority of people as were the "fire-eaters" in the South. They were mobbed and, in many instances, lynched by their neighbors. Thousands of the most uncompromising friends of slavery were Northerners, of whom an overwhelming majority were determinedly opposed to any interference with the "peculiar institution." An extreme abolitionist was as bitter a secessionist as the most ardent fire-eater.

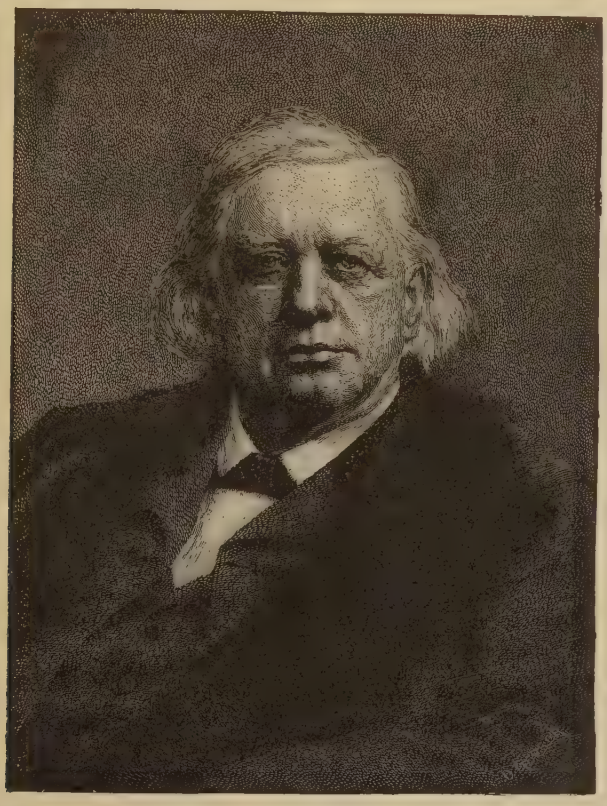
But, as we long ago learned, Fort Sumter unified the sentiment in the North and in the South. The boom of cannon on April 12, 1861, in Charleston harbor, was the trumpet-signal for the friends and foes of the Union to take their places in line, and they rushed to do so. For some days before, the New York *Herald* headed its despatches from Montgomery, the first capital of the Confederacy, as "foreign news," and many leading papers showed unmistakable friendliness for the secessionists; but, as has been said, all this was changed by the bombardment of Sumter. In the North, with few exceptions, newspapers, politicians, and public men became ardent Unionists, and so remained to the close of the struggle.

The Moral and Intellectual Forces

There came dark days, however, when the North was almost ready to yield, though the leading patriots never lost heart. It has been shown that the danger from armed intervention by France and England was so imminent that every possible effort was made to avert it. Henry Ward Beecher, the matchless preacher and orator, did prodigious service for the Union in the principal cities of England, while the help of Archbishop Hughes of the Roman Catholic Church, Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Church, and of others was of immeasurable value to our country during its most crucial period. In rendering our gratitude to the brave boys in blue, we must not forget our debt to men like those we have named, and the hundreds of other clergymen, editors, writers, orators, poets, congressmen, gov-

ernors, organizers, and women, who toiled day and night, in season and out, to uphold the arms of those that were striking blows at the front.

When the Southern Confederacy collapsed, no doubt Great Britain and France breathed a sigh of thankfulness that they had refrained from interfering actively in behalf of the South. On June 2, 1865,



HENRY WARD BEECHER

England ordered the closing of all her ports, harbors, and waters against any vessel bearing the Confederate flag. Four days later the French Government took similar action.

Those persons who were in the city of Washington on May 22 and 23, 1865, saw the most impressive sight of their lives. It was one of the grandest military views that the world ever looked upon.

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

The Army of the Potomac and nearly all of those that had served under Sherman passed in review before the assembled multitudes. How our eyes kindled, and how our pulses quickened, at sight of the flags, rent and torn, that had been carried through the flame of battle to victory and triumph! Dull must have been that nature which did not glow with patriotic pride at sight of those hardened and bronzed veterans that had fought their way through one of the greatest wars of modern times and had saved from destruction the noblest government on earth.

An Impressive Scene

But when one reflected that, North and South, more than a million men were about to give up the profession of arms for that of peace, there was grave anxiety about the future. Would not these veterans, when turned free, become lawless? Would not the men that had been supported by the Government for years refuse to labor for themselves? If they chose to band together for plunder, no power that could be called into being would be able to stand for one hour before them. They would form a prodigious, resistless engine of destruction.

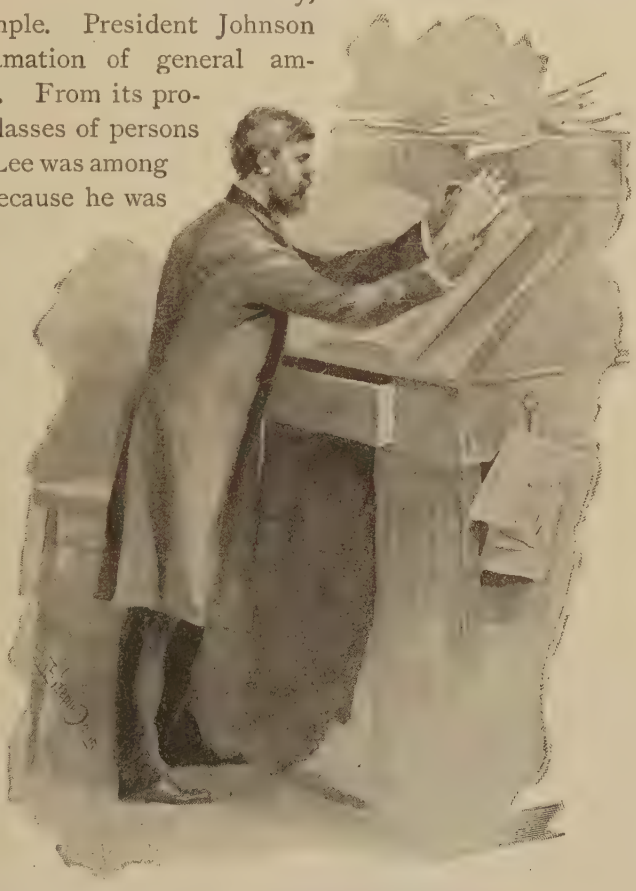
And yet there was never the least ground for this fear. Revolution and anarchy would have followed the disbandment of so immense an army in almost any other country, but it was impossible in our own. The American is law-abiding by nature, with a love for home and for his country. Our safety, indeed, rests upon this profound sentiment which underlies the nature of all American citizens.

The Grandest Victory of All

The Government began paying off the soldiers and sending them home at the rate of three hundred thousand a month. By the 1st of July, eight hundred thousand had been mustered out of service and entered private life, the armies melting away like snowflakes in the sun. As the million of men diverged, they changed from soldiers into farmers, mechanics, lawyers, editors, judges, managers, clergymen, teachers, and, indeed, filled every walk and profession. The man who was thoughtfully "balancing" the books of a mercantile concern, perhaps was, a few months before, leading his regiment in a desperate charge, and one of the firm may have been a subordinate officer or private under him. In one of the Rhode Island regiments during the war, when the Government was in arrears, a private advanced $100,000 that his comrades might send the usual amount to their families. The most quiet and unassuming of clerks in a South-

ern establishment was a lieutenant-general of the Confederacy. Among the professors in colleges were soon recognized leaders of the armies North or South. One sort of training was invaluable to the men that returned to the peaceful walks of life—that was, prompt obedience to authority. A man, in order properly to govern others, must first learn to obey.

In respect of the obedience to law, Gen. Robert E. Lee, the great mainstay of the Southern Confederacy, set a good example. President Johnson issued a proclamation of general amnesty, May 29th. From its provisions, sixteen classes of persons were excluded. Lee was among them, not only because he was a West Pointer and had been a military officer of the Confederate Government, ranking higher than a colonel, but also because he belonged to the thirteenth class excepted, namely, those persons that had voluntarily taken part in the rebellion and the value of whose taxable property was over $20,000.



A FORMER LIEUTENANT-GENERAL

The amnesty proclamation of the President provided, however, that special application for pardon might be made by any person belonging to the classes excepted. Because of this, General Lee wrote the subjoined letter:

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

RICHMOND, VA., JUNE 13, 1865.

"*His Exc'y, Andrew Johnson,*
"*President of the United States.*

"SIR: Being excluded from the provisions of amnesty contained in the proclamation of the 29th ult., I hereby apply for the benefits, and full restoration of all rights and privileges, extended to those included in its terms.

"I graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in June, 1829; resigned from the U. S. Army, April, 1861; was a General in the Confederate Army, and included in the surrender of the Army of N. Va., April 9, 1865.

"I have the honor to be, Very respectfully, Yr. obdt. svt.,
(sgd) "R. E. LEE."

A Good Example

The motive of General Lee in making so prompt an application to President Johnson for amnesty is explained by his eldest son, Gen. George Washington Custis Lee:

"When General Lee requested me to make a copy of this letter to President Johnson, he remarked: It was but right for him to set an example of making formal submission to the Civil Authorities; and that he thought, by so doing, he might possibly be in a better position to be of use to the Confederates who were not protected by military paroles; especially Mr. Davis. G. W. C. LEE."

Gen. R. E. Lee not only ranks high among great military leaders, but he is an heroic figure in American history, and never was he greater than in the hour of humiliation and the months and years of gloom that followed.

While General Lee took this creditable action, there were a few others, like General Early—whom Lee relieved for incompetency—and Robert Toombs, of Georgia, who had no military ability, that prided themselves upon refusing to take the oath of allegiance and remaining "unreconstructed" to the end.

French Evacuation of Mexico

The diplomacy by which the French were forced to evacuate Mexico was creditable to our Government. The United States used no threats, no bluster, no representations of unfriendliness, and no loud assertion of the Monroe doctrine. Our Government had never recognized Maximilian, but had always continued relations with President Juarez and the Mexican republic. It now offered the latter its strongest good will and good wishes. It put fifty thousand veteran

THE PRIMARY CAUSES OF THE WAR—THE NEGRO AND COTTON

soldiers on the Rio Grande, practically under the command of Juarez, "to suppress disorder and enforce the laws of its sister republic." It supplied the Republican army with thirty thousand muskets and all the arms and munitions of war that it needed. This was done openly, so that the French Government might make no mistake as to our sentiments, and it sent a minister "accredited to the Republican Government of Mexico," who was accompanied by the lieutenant-general of the United States army, "with discretionary authority as to the location of the forces of the United States." Although Mr. Campbell and General Sherman were unable to find Juarez, virtually imprisoned in the mountains of Chihuahua, the moral effect was resistless. Napoleon saw that he could not keep the French army in Mexico without a conflict, and Maximilian knew that, lacking the support of the French arms, his empire must go to pieces.

The Straits of Maximilian

Napoleon deserted his dupe, who vainly strove to establish a footing in Mexico. With the United States behind him, Juarez pushed the war, and at Queretaro, May 15, 1867, he compelled Maximilian to surrender. He and his two generals, Miramon and Mejia, were tried by a council of war and sentenced to be shot.

A general sympathy was felt for Maximilian, and many efforts were made to save him, but his execution was a military and political necessity, which he himself had forced upon the Mexican Government. As Mr. Romero wrote: "If Maximilian should receive pardon and return to Europe, he would be a standing menace to the peace of Mexico; he would call himself Emperor and have a court at Miramar, the rallying-point of all dissatisfied Mexicans, who would intrigue with him; the powers would recognize him in the event of a return to Mexico, following the example of Iturbide, and threaten the country with complications." Replying to the tearful appeal of the Princess Salm-Salm, Juarez said: "I am grieved, madam, to see you thus on your knees before me; but if all the kings and queens in Europe were in your place, I could not spare that life. It is not I who take it; it is the people and the law; and if I should not do its will, the people would take it and mine also."

Execution of Maximilian

Maximilian and his two companions were shot on the 19th of June. Carlotta, the widow of Maximilian, became insane through grief, and remained thus to the close of her life, many years later.

The colossal steamship *Great Eastern* was employed during the summer of 1865 in attempting to lay an Atlantic cable. The cable

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

broke repeatedly, until at last the effort was given up. Taking lesson from these failures, the attempt was made again a year later, and progressed without accident. The *Great Eastern*, with three consorts, arrived at Newfoundland, July 28th, having paid out 1,866 miles of cable, which by an odd coincidence represented the figures of the year itself. The cable worked perfectly, as do the others that have been laid since that time.

A Fenian Scare

The restless Fenians felt that it was time to have a brush with the British, who had so long oppressed Ireland. Many of them had served during the war and were skilled soldiers. They conceived that the easiest way to strike England was by attacking Canada. Accordingly, in April, 1866, about five hundred Fenians came together at Eastport, Me., purposing to descend upon the island of Campobello, which belongs to New Brunswick. A few days later a schooner arrived from Portland, with several hundred stands of arms from Fenian friends in that city.

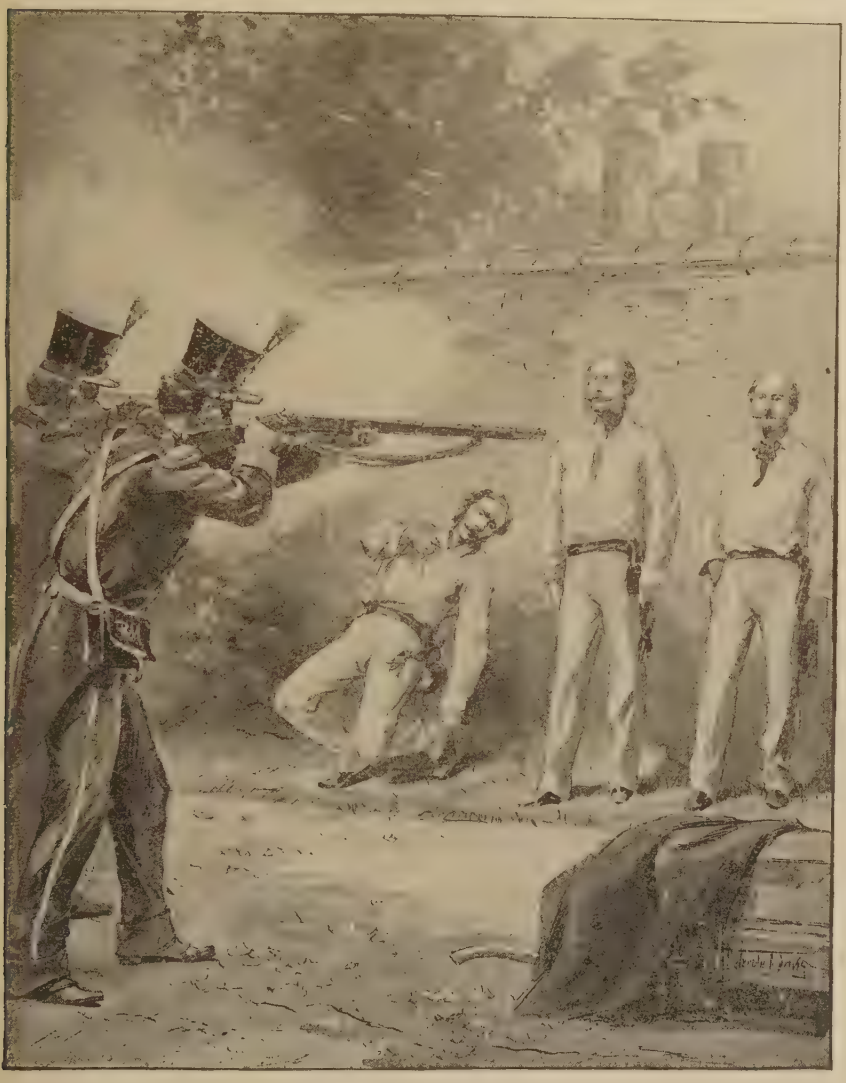
Complaint being made by the British consul, the arms were seized by the United States Government, and a British war-vessel anchored off Campobello. A body of American troops was sent from Portland to Calais, where a large number of Fenians had gathered, and General Meade arrived and took command of the American forces. These vigorous measures so discouraged the Fenians that they gave up the project.

The organization now changed the direction of its efforts. On the 1st of June, about fifteen hundred Fenians crossed the Niagara River at Buffalo, in canal-boats, and took possession of the deserted post of Fort Erie. A brisk skirmish followed the next day between some Fenians and Canadian volunteers. Having no artillery and but scant supplies, the Fenians set out to retreat to our territory, but were stopped by an American gunboat and seven hundred of them arrested. Some thirteen hundred members of the organization gave their parole and promised to abandon the project. Others who continued to arrive were turned back by their commanding officers.

Another Invasion of Canada

On the 7th of June, a thousand Fenians crossed into Canada near Ogdensburg, N. Y., and occupied St. Armand, which had been abandoned by the Canadians. A leading Fenian officer was arrested the same day at St. Albans, a second in New York, and several in Buffalo. The Canadians threatened St. Armand, and the Fenians retreated across the frontier. General Meade, who had arrived at

Ogdensburg, arrested a good many, took their parole, and sent them home, and thus terminated another "Fenian scare" in accord with the usual rule.



SHOOTING OF MAXIMILIAN

An important addition was made to United States territory in 1867, by the purchase from Russia of the immense tract of territory known as Alaska. Inclusive of its islands, the area is 577,390

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

square miles, which is more than two-thirds of the area of the United States at the close of the Revolution. Its purchase was a favorite idea with Secretary Seward, but the general belief was that the price paid—$7,200,000—was much more than the region of fogs is worth; but its value has proved enormous. It has a hilly surface and an abundance of timber, with few settlements. The capital is Sitka, or New Archangel, on Baranoff Island. The fisheries are highly productive, but its great wealth is in its furs. The question as to seal fishing in Alaskan waters, one of the most profitable of industries, has caused much controversy between Great Britain and the United States. Alaska was organized as a territory, July 27, 1868.

Purchase of Alaska

Nebraska became a State, February 9, 1867. It formed a part of the Louisiana purchase, and, having been but little explored, was believed to be of slight value, but it has proved to be one of the richest agricultural regions in our country. Every product of the temperate latitudes is grown with profit. Coal is the only mineral of importance. The eastern half is well-watered, rolling prairie, and the rains seem to keep pace with the settlement westward. The people are enterprising, and their educational progress is remarkable, giving the State a rank among the foremost in the Union. Its prosperity is one of the certainties of the future.

Having given the principal incidents, of a non-political nature, which occurred during the administration of President Johnson, it is now necessary to take up those that were of a far more perplexing character. In one sense, the real penalties of a great war make themselves felt after the close of hostilities, in the form of burdensome taxation and domestic strife. The national debt at the end of the war for the Union was $2,804,549,437.50, a sum too vast for the mind to grasp. A simple illustration, however, may give a partial idea. Suppose that ten golden eagles, placed one on the top of another, are an inch in height. Then if the amount of the national debt, represented by golden eagles, were piled up in this way, it would be more than four hundred miles high. During the last year of the war the expenses of the Government amounted to a billion dollars, which was a far greater sum than France or Great Britain ever expended in the same time. Had the South not been conquered by the close of the year 1865, it is very doubtful whether the North would have continued the struggle, since the financial strain would have been too great.

The National Debt

And yet honor required not only that every dollar of this colossal debt should be paid, but that a just provision should be made for the thousands of soldiers whose health had been broken and who had been made cripples by the war. Other governments have debts as large as ours, if not larger, but they make no attempt to pay them. That, however, is not the American way of doing things. The debt was attacked with a vigor that, before the armies were fairly disbanded, reduced it by $30,000,000. In this place, it will be interesting to insert an account of our indebtedness, based on the government reports up to November 1, 1896:

The Debt in 1896

According to the bulletin issued by the Department, the present interest-bearing debt is $847,364,460. The non-interest-bearing debt (bank or Treasury notes and not bonds) is $372,100,247.64, and there is, too, another item of $1,607,010.26 which stands for the bonds which have matured, and upon which the interest has stopped, but which have not been redeemed. The aggregate amount of the whole debt on November 1 was $1,785,412,640.90.

Compared with other nations, the United States has had what may be called a fluctuating debt, this country being the only one, practically, which pays off or has paid off a material portion of its indebtedness, the debts of European countries steadily increasing year by year in acceptance of the axiom that "a national debt is a national blessing."

At the present time the United States stands eighth of the list of countries in the amount of its obligations outstanding, the order being as follows: France, England, Russia, Austria, Italy, Germany, and Spain.

Fluctuations of the Finances

The finances of no country have fluctuated so violently in different directions as those of the United States. At the close of the Revolutionary war the outstanding debt of the republic was $75,000,000, and fifteen years later it was almost exactly the same. From that time until the beginning of the war of 1812 there was a steady reduction, which brought the figure to $45,000,000. It went up again in consequence of the expenditures incident to the war until it reached $127,000,000, and then, until 1829, it declined again, as the mercury goes down in a thermometer on a cold afternoon in winter. It was in that year $58,000,000. The next year $10,000,000 was knocked off, the year following $9,000,000, the year following that $15,000,000, the year follow-

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

ing that $17,000,000, bringing down the debt in 1833 to $7,000,000.

In 1834 it got down to $4,700,000, and in 1835, the red-letter year in American finance, to $37,000, Uncle Sam having on that occasion, to use a popular and current phrase, "money to burn." There was indeed more money in the Treasury than debt outstanding, and the holders of the $37,000 withstood an offer of cash payment.

Down and Up Again

But just as the debt had gone down, it took a start up again, reaching $336,000 in 1837, $3,300,000 in 1838, and $10,400,000 in 1839. From that time on until 1860 it fluctuated rapidly, reaching $64,000,000 in the latter year.

Then the vast increases caused by the war began to make themselves shown—$90,000,000 in 1861, $524,000,000 in 1862, $1,119,000,000 in 1863, $1,815,000,000 in 1864, $2,680,000,000 in 1865, and $2,773,000,000, the top figure, in 1866. The interest charged upon the debt at that time was $140,000,000 a year, and it was not until several years afterward that there was any material reduction to this burden, which amounted to $105,000,000 in 1878.

Since then, by the payment of the debt and the reduction of interest, the latter has been brought down to the present figure of about $25,000,000, nearly two-thirds of the debt having been in the mean while paid off in an almost incredibly short period of time for a country ravaged by a protracted civil war.

Taxation

Manifestly there was but one way of raising the means with which to reduce our indebtedness, and that was by taxation. Naturally, therefore, the tariff became one of the most important questions, as it had been for years, that could engage the attention of Congress.*

* As evidence of how people were taxed in those days, the following facts are interesting. Every eating-house, retail confectioner, real estate agent, intelligence office keeper, insurance agent, auctioneer, druggist, and photographer paid $10 annually to the United States Government. Peddlers who travelled with two or more horses or mules paid $50 yearly; those with a single rig, $25; those with one horse or mule, $15, and those who travelled on foot, $10. Retail butchers were taxed $10 each, proprietors of theatres, museums, and concert halls, $100 each; jugglers, $20 each. There was a government tax of $10 for each alley in a bowling alley, and $10 for each table in a billiard room. Lawyers, plumbers, and gasfitters had to pay $10 apiece, and the same fee was required of every miner, architect, and civil engineer. The tax on builders and contractors was $25 apiece; dentists, $10; circus proprietors, $100; pawnbrokers $50 (who used a capital of $50,000, and $2 for every additional $1,000). Cattle brokers were taxed $10 apiece, bankers, $100; lottery ticket dealers, $100, and livery stable keepers and custom-house brokers, $10 each. In addition there was the well-remembered income tax during the war.

The heaviest permanent duty between 1789 and 1819 was that of 20 per cent., imposed by the tariff act of 1816. The financial policy of the country was not protective in its character until 1824, when the average duty was about 20 per cent.

In 1828 a new measure was enacted, which imposed higher rates. In 1832 a reduction of some duties was made, but the average remained 33 per cent. The nullification excitement in South Carolina brought about a gradual reduction until 1842, when it was 20 per cent. In September of that year a protective tariff was adopted which lasted for four years, when a so-called free-trade tariff went into effect.

The Tariff

This bill provided for various classes of goods. Those in Class A paid 100 per cent.; those in Class B, 40 per cent.; those in Class C, 30 per cent.; so that it by no means provided absolute free trade. The act was repealed in 1857 and still lower duties fixed, those in Class C paying only 24 per cent. This was the nearest approach to free trade that the country made since 1816.

In 1861, before the war opened, the Morrill act was passed, restoring and increasing the rates of 1846 and doubling the existing rates. The first "war tariff" was that of July 14, 1862; the second was the "revenue act" of June 30, 1864, which put the average rate of duty at 47.06 per cent. on dutiable goods, the act of 1862 having imposed an average rate of 37.2 on such goods.

A "horizontal reduction" was made, by which 10 per cent. was deducted from all duties then existing. Meanwhile there had been "tinkering with the tariff" at every session. The reduction was repealed in 1865, and in 1883 another general tariff act was passed, slightly reducing the average duty from about 44 per cent. to 42 per cent. on dutiable articles. In 1890 the McKinley act was passed, which made the average duty on dutiable articles about 47 per cent.

The Reconstruction Problem

The great problem, however, which confronted the Government was the true status of the States that had claimed to withdraw from the Union, and were now to resume their old places within it. The majority claimed that they had never been out of the Union, and bowing to the "logic of events" as declared by the war, the States lately in rebellion were ready to let things be as they had been; but the North could not consent that the dearly bought triumph of the Union arms should become a failure, by re-establishing slavery,

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

which was the real cause of the bloody struggle, for that in time would be sure to precipitate a still more terrible conflict. Neither would it do to offer a reward to those who sought to destroy the Union, by providing for the payment of the Confederate war debt; and, finally, the negroes must be protected in their newly acquired freedom.

Diversity of Views

What, therefore, should be done with the voters in the seceding States? The Democrats and Republicans were pretty evenly divided in the North, but there was a "solid South" in support and defence of slavery. If admitted to Congress, they would be so powerful that, with a little help from either party, they would control the politics of the country, with power to make whatever laws they chose regarding the war debts, pensions, and slavery. And yet no law existed to prevent their taking part at once in the Government, while it was too dangerous to permit them to do so. It seemed to be equally hard to let them in or shut them out.

There could be no doubt of President Johnson's Unionism, for he had faced death once in defence of that sentiment. He was hardly installed as President when, on the 2d of May, he offered an immense reward for the capture of Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thomson, Clement C. Clay, Beverly Tucker, George N. Saunders, W. C. Clery, and others whom he accused of forming the plot for the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. It need not be said that there was never any ground for this fearful accusation.

President Johnson's Personality

Truth requires that several statements should be made concerning President Andrew Johnson. He had been a "poor white" of the South—a person whose condition, in some respects, was worse than that of a negro; for, while holding aloof from the black man, he was without social recognition from the "gentlemen" of his own blood.* Johnson heartily disliked those Southerners that had brought about the war. Besides, he had a violent temper, was as stubborn as Jackson in his own views, and during those tempestuous days occasionally resorted to the use of drugs and stimulants, which led him to say and do things that in his more rational moments he would not have said or done. He was what was known as a War Democrat, and, while anxious to maintain the Union, was just as anxious that the Union should not interfere with any of the States. The conditions

* "I'd rather be a nigger than a poor white man," was a common expression in the South.

being thus, a collision between Congress and the President was inevitable.

President Johnson formed a plan of reconstruction. It was to ap-

"SWINGING ROUND THE CIRCLE"

point provisional governors in the Southern States, who should call conventions of delegates, elected by the white people, the former voters. These conventions met and did three things: they repealed

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

the ordinances of secession, repudiated the State debts incurred in aid of the Confederacy, and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which passed Congress early in 1865 and abolished slavery. Before the close of this year all the governments of the seceding States had been reorganized in accordance with the President's plan, which he generally referred to as "my policy," and were in operation. Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas had already been organized much in this manner under President Lincoln, and were not disturbed. The Thirteenth Amendment was declared a part of the Constitution, December 18, 1865, and was necessary, because President Lincoln's Emancipation had merely freed the slaves and did not prevent their being made slaves again.

The President's Policy

The President showed no special anxiety to protect the slaves that had been freed by the war and were known as "freedmen." The Southerners did not believe they would work, now that they were no longer forced to do so. Many laws, therefore, were passed to compel them to toil, under penalty of being declared vagrants and sent to jail and hard labor. This action caused anger in the North, where many pronounced it slavery under another name. The quarrel in the Thirty-Ninth Congress was bitter, and when, on the 29th of December, eighty-five members from the Southern States applied for admission, they were refused by the votes of the "radicals," as they were called. This was done by requiring a test oath by every member that he had not been connected in any way with the late Confederate Government.

The Plan of Congress

The reconstruction committee of Congress, in January, 1866, recommended that a repeal of the old provision of the Constitution, which allowed five male blacks to count as three white men in making up the Southern representation in Congress, should be submitted as another amendment to the Constitution. This would reduce the members of fourteen States from seventy-six to fifty-two. The South, many in the North, and President Johnson vehemently opposed this measure. The language of the President was bitter and sometimes very violent.

Meanwhile, the Republicans had agreed upon no plan of reconstruction, but, since they held a two-thirds majority in both branches of Congress, they could make what laws they chose in spite of the President's veto. The proposed amendment passed both houses of

Congress, and in the latter part of June the President consented to send copies to the governors of the different States, in order that the matter could be laid before the respective legislatures.

Tennessee was readmitted to the Union in 1866, and her members took their seats in Congress. The method in which she was reorganized seemed to secure the freedmen in their rights.

Passage of the Civil Rights Bill

The civil rights bill, which sought to place the black and the white men on the same footing as to citizenship, was vetoed by the President, March 27, 1866, upon what many in the North regarded as true ground, that it was perilous to give the right to vote to many thousands of ignorant men who had lately been slaves. Despite the opposition of the President, the bill was passed on the 9th of April.

Thaddeus Stevens, a Republican member of the House from Pennsylvania, was the leader of the drastic measures regarding reconstruction. He was implacable and intolerant of opposition, carrying his views into effect by the imperious force of his iron will. His real object was to preserve the ascendency of his party by ruling the South through the votes of the enfranchised negroes. Although past three-score and ten, and rapidly failing in health (he died in 1868), he abated not a jot of his savage vigor and showed no mercy to the members of his party who shrank from some of his extreme measures of disfranchisement, which were necessary to keep his party in power.*

Opposition to the Radicals

It must not be supposed that the radicals were sustained at this time by a very large majority in their war for the rights of the negroes and against the President. In 1866 no man in Massachusetts could vote unless able to write his name, while in Rhode Island he had to own a certain amount of real estate, or, if a native, he must pay an annual tax of a dollar. In Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Colorado, all the proposed amendments to the State constitutions, which gave the right of voting to the black man, were defeated.

The angered President now made a tour, extending from Washington to Chicago, which, because of one of his own expressions, became known as "swinging round the circle." His bitter speeches in defence of his policy injured his popularity. In the autumn elec-

* A fellow Republican protested to Stevens that his conscience would not permit him to support some of his extreme measures. Stevens turned fiercely upon him and thundered: "To —— with your conscience!"

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

tions the Republicans were overwhelmingly successful. They were secure in their two-thirds majority in the next Congress, and for two years to follow could pass any law they pleased over the President's veto. By this time, too, they had agreed upon a plan of reconstruction, and were ready to carry it into effect. This plan, in brief, was that the freedmen should vote and the Confederate leaders should not. The disfranchisement of so many white men gave an immense majority to the negro vote. Thus in Louisiana their excess was about forty thousand.

EDWIN M. STANTON

These attempts to tie the hands of the President made him more aggressive than before. In August, 1867, he removed General Sheridan from command of the Fifth Military District, on the charge that he had made improper use of his powers. Sheridan was given a command in Missouri. General Grant resented this treatment of his friend, insisting that as commander-in-chief of the army the right of such removal belonged to him; but the President had his way.

Quarrel between the President and Stanton

Johnson did not like the impulsive, outspoken Secretary of War, Stanton, who did not hesitate to denounce the course of the President. In August, 1867, the latter asked Stanton to resign. He refused, and the President suspended him and ordered him to turn over the duties of his office to General Grant, who was appointed Secretary for the time being. Stanton obeyed, saying he yielded to force, and that the President had violated the tenure-of-office act, which required the consent of the Senate to the act of suspension.

At the close of the year an attempt was made to impeach the President, but the House defeated the measure. The quarrel between Congress and the President increased in intensity. In January, 1868, the Senate reinstated Stanton as Secretary of War. The

President dismissed him, February 21st. Three days later the House of Representatives, by a vote of 126 to 41, passed a resolution to impeach President Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors, and a committee was named to conduct the proceedings before the bar of the Senate. Adjutant-General Thomas was appointed Secretary *ad interim*, but Stanton would not surrender his office. He remained in it day and night, with a military guard and a number of friends, refusing the repeated demands of Thomas, and ready to fight in defence of his rights. Fortunately no actual collision took place.

Impeachment of the President

The House appointed as managers of the impeachment proceedings Messrs. Stevens, Butler, Bingham, Boutwell, Wilson, Williams, and Logan. The indictment was perfected on the 2d and 3d of March, and the trial opened before the Senate, March 23d. It must be borne in mind that to impeach a President is simply to *accuse* him of having disobeyed the laws and of being unfit for the office which he holds. An impeachment of the President must be tried before the Senate, with the Chief Justice of the United States acting as presiding officer. A two-thirds vote of the court is necessary to convict the accused. The trial occupied thirty-two days, lasting until May 26th. Thirty-five Senators voted for conviction and nineteen for acquittal. Thus the President escaped by a single vote.*

Acquittal of the President

* The removal of Federal officers by impeachment proceedings under Section 4 of Article II. of the Constitution has been tried seven times, and has been successful only twice. William Blount, United States Senator from Tennessee, was charged in 1797 with conspiring with British officers to steal part of Louisiana from Spain for England's benefit. Blount's defence was that a Senator was not a civil officer liable to impeachment. The House prepared articles of impeachment, and the Senate expelled him after putting him under bonds for trial. On the question of jurisdiction he was acquitted. Judge John Pickering, of the Federal district court for New Hampshire, was impeached in 1803 for drunkenness and profanity on the bench. The defence was insanity. He was convicted on a party vote and removed from office. In 1804, Samuel Chase, of Maryland, a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, was charged with improper conduct on the bench. The impeachment proceedings were instigated and managed by John Randolph, of Virginia, but the accused escaped conviction through the failure of the prosecution to obtain a two-thirds vote. Something like a quarter of a century later, James H. Peck, a Federal district Judge in Missouri, was impeached for oppressive treatment of an attorney, but was acquitted. At the beginning of the Civil War, Judge West H. Humphreys, of the Federal district court of Tennessee, joined the Confederacy and accepted judicial office under it, without troubling himself to send his resignation to Washington. He was impeached, with a view of vacating the office, and convicted June 26, 1862. One of the witnesses in this case was Andrew Johnson, then governor of Tennessee, who when President was, as has been shown, the subject of impeachment proceedings. The seventh and last

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

At this time the state of the country was alarming. Anarchy prevailed in many quarters and was rapidly spreading. When the armies of volunteers were disbanded at the close of the war, fifty thousand troops were retained for service in the South, and they were insufficient to preserve peace and enforce the laws. Stanton resigned his office in May, 1867, and was succeeded by General Schofield. Congress thanked General Sheridan for his course while military governor of Louisiana, and at the same time censured the President for what he had done and was doing.

True Reconstruction

And yet the blessed work of reconciliation went on of itself and independent of these revolutionary proceedings. The men who had worn the blue and those who had worn the gray respected each other's valor and became friends. They had no cause for quarrel, and left the wrangling to politicians. The only political favor General Sherman ever asked (and it wasn't granted) was that his intimate friend, Gen. Jo Johnston, should be retained in office by a Republican administration. No brothers could have been fonder of each other than were Sheridan and some of the cavalry officers with whom he crossed sabres in the Shenandoah Valley; and when President Johnson meditated arresting General Lee, General Grant wrathfully declared that he would resign his commission in the army if the dishonorable thing were done, and it was not done.

Adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment

Then, too, Northern capital and enterprise began to build up the waste places in the South. Golden opportunities awaited the men who possessed the means and the energy, and the Southerners had the wisdom to invite and encourage such aid, which was freely given. The States that had seceded were readmitted one by one, until all were back again, and a wholesale and complete amnesty was proclaimed on Christmas Day, 1868. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution had been ratified in July, 1868. It forbade any State to take away the privileges of citizens of the United States, excluded the leading Confederates from office until pardoned by Congress, and provided that the debt of the United States

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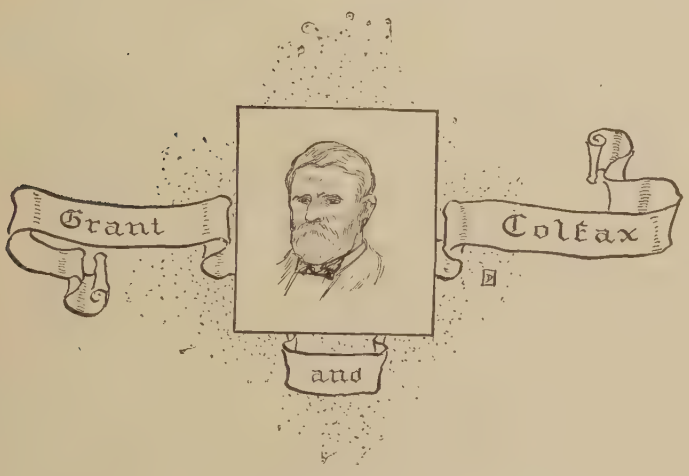
Federal impeachment was that of William W. Belknap, Secretary of War under President Grant. He was charged in 1876 with corruption in office, and the House voted unanimously to impeach him. He resigned a few hours before the passage of the impeachment resolution, and the President accepted his resignation. The impeachment proceedings were continued, however, but failed by lack of a two-thirds majority in the Senate for conviction. In the case of Belknap it looked to some as if he sacrificed himself to save a member of his family.

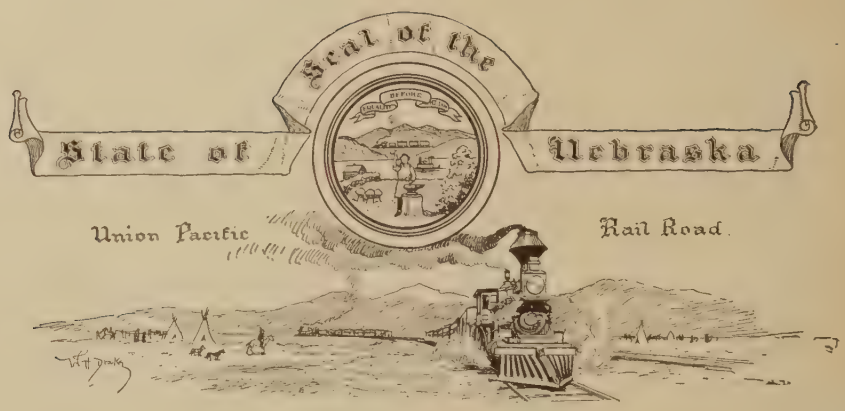
should be paid in full, and the Confederate war debt should never be paid.

It was evident that neither party would renominate President Johnson. The Republican convention met in Chicago, May 20th, and, amid a tempest of enthusiasm, named General Grant for the presidency, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for the vice-presidency. The Democratic convention, early in July, nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Gen. Francis P. Blair, of Missouri. The Republican candidates received the electoral votes of twenty-six States, or two hundred and fourteen in all, while the Democrats carried eight States, with their eighty electoral votes.

Election of Grant

In February, 1869, Congress enacted a constitutional amendment forbidding any distinction concerning the right of suffrage, based on education, creed, property, nativity, color, or race. The amendment was adopted by the necessary number of States during the following year.





CHAPTER LXXIX

GRANT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1869–1873

[*Authorities:* Nothing could show better the influence of the financiers and of men of large capital on the industrial activities of the world than the events recorded in this chapter. Mr. Gould and Mr. Fisk conceive the plan of getting control of all the gold in the open market and of forcing its price up to a point where they can reap an enormous profit from the exigencies of the financial situation. Their first move is to convince President Grant that it would be impolitic for the Government to sell gold at what had been current rates to the ordinary buyer. Knowing little of the intricacies of finance, he is almost persuaded that their arguments are correct. Then they proceed to "corner the market" on gold and begin to reap their harvest. At the last moment the Government awakes to a realization of the true state of affairs and throws its gold into the market, but not early enough to prevent them from making a profit of $11,000,000. The Chicago fire furnishes a good illustration that, notwithstanding our pretences of advanced civilization, society is still infested with human cormorants and hyenas lying in wait to prey upon suffering humanity. See Badeau's "Military History of General Grant," Harper's "Pictorial History of the War."]

GENERAL GRANT was on the tidal wave of popularity, and was the idol of the North, which considered him not only the greatest soldier of modern times, but one of the foremost of living statesmen. President Johnson had made himself odious by his political course as successor of the immortal Abraham Lincoln. At the inauguration, Johnson refused to sit in the same carriage with the President-elect, and then, when it was proposed that he should ride abreast of Grant in another carriage down the avenue, he declined to appear in the procession at all. This is the only instance in our history of such gross discourtesy. General Grant rode to the capitol in an open carriage, with his favorite staff officer, General Rawlins, at his side.

During his two terms, President Grant had twenty-three members of his Cabinet, a greater number than any other President. He was devotedly loyal to his friends, and any criticism upon them hurt him as much as it did the ones censured. He was loath to believe wrong of them, and would not do so until further disbelief was impossible. The soul of honor himself, he held a much higher opinion of human nature than, alas! he was sometimes warranted in holding. This loyalty and confidence led him to commit mistakes that brought unpleasant consequences.

The President's Cabinet

A complete list of the members of his Cabinet is as follows:

Secretary of State—Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois; Hamilton Fish, of New York.

Secretary of the Treasury—George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; William A. Richardson, of Massachusetts; Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky; Lot M. Morrill, of Maine.

Secretary of War—John A. Rawlins, of Illinois; William T. Sherman, of Ohio; William W. Belknap, of Iowa; Alphonso Taft, of Ohio; James Don Cameron, of Pennsylvania.

Secretary of the Interior—Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio; Columbus Delano, of Ohio; Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan.

Secretary of the Navy—Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania; George M. Robeson, of New Jersey.

Postmaster-General—John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland; James W. Marshall, of Virginia; Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut; James N. Tyner, of Indiana.

Attorney-General—Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts; Amos T. Ackerman, of Georgia; George H. Williams, of Oregon; Edwards Pierrepont, of New York; Alphonso Taft, of Ohio.

Completion of the Overland Railway

The first event of public importance in the administration of President Grant was the completion of the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railways. Begun in 1863, in the midst of the Civil War, little was accomplished during the first two years. The eastern division of the road is from Omaha, Neb., to Ogden, Utah, a distance of 1,032 miles, while the western division, called the Central Pacific, extends from Ogden to San Francisco, 882 miles. On May 10, 1869, the two lines of track met each other, and the last rail was fastened in place by a spike of solid gold. The ceremonies, which were accompanied by a number of speeches, were impressive, and took place in the presence of a distinguished company.

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

One of the most daring speculators who made millions of dollars in Wall Street was Jay Gould. He was the brains of the firm of Smith, Gould, Martin & Co. An associate was "Jim Fisk," a coarse man of large figure, unprincipled, but bold and aggressive in business. During the spring of 1869 Gould bought nearly $8,000,000 in gold, which he loaned on demand notes. Now, since this was nearly half of all the gold in the country outside of the United States Treasury, it will be seen that if the Government could be persuaded not to sell gold, Gould could force the price up to an enormous figure; for, when he demanded the repayment of the amounts he had loaned, his debtors would have to buy it at whatever cost. Gould and Fisk sought to convince President Grant that the prosperity of the country would be helped if the Government should decide not to sell any gold while the crops were moving. Grant, who had no suspicion of their object, was partly convinced, and the men perfected their plans. Orders were issued at the beginning of September by the Government to sell only enough gold to buy bonds for the sinking fund, and the operators bought all the gold possible, causing the premium to rise to 140½, on the 22d of September.

Gould and Fisk's Scheme

Gould feared that the rapid rise in gold would be crushed through the Treasury unloosening some of the amount in its vaults. While Fisk bought, therefore, Gould secretly sold. On Thursday, September 23d, Fisk exploded a bombshell in the Gold Room, by coolly offering to bet $50,000 that gold would rise to 200. His offer created wild excitement, but no one accepted his challenge.

The next day Wall Street was a pandemonium. Men of wealth were pallid with terror, as they saw themselves becoming beggars, while others were in a delirium of hilarity at the prospect of making additional fortunes before the set of sun. New Street and every avenue leading to the Gold Room were crammed with a shrieking mob. The price of gold leaped rapidly upward. At eleven o'clock it was 155; a half-hour later 160, and then 164, with the prospect of climbing still higher and ruining thousands, when a messenger rushed into the room with word that the Government had thrown four millions of gold on the market. Instantly the price began to tumble, until it dropped to 133, which was about its normal figure. The plot was defeated, but those who

Black Friday

organized it cleared fully $11,000,000. The frightful strain of Black Friday produced several actual lunatics and caused more than one death.*

In 1871 Chicago was the fifth city in population in the country,

BLACK FRIDAY IN WALL STREET

its number of inhabitants at that time being about 300,000. On Sunday, October 8, 1871, in De Koven Street, a fire began that grew

* Fisk was shot and killed by Edward S. Stokes, January 6, 1872.

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

into one of the greatest conflagrations of modern times.* A high wind was blowing and sent the flames in the direction of the lumber-yards and frame houses in the vicinity. Leaping across the south branch of the Chicago River, they were soon fiercely eating into the business portion of the city.

The Great Chicago Fire

The fire raged all of Monday, gathering strength and fury, until it looked as if the whole city was doomed. It crossed the main channel of the river as if it were no more than a few feet in width, and swept everything before it. Fire-proof buildings, as they were called, shrivelled up as if they were tissue paper in the furnace-like heat, and brick structures crumbled and vanished with the suddenness of the kindling-wood in the frame dwellings. For hundreds of miles over the prairie and lake the glare could be seen against the heavens. To many it was an awful picture of the day of judgment, when "the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and the elements melt with fervent heat."

Tuesday morning there was a check in the progress of the fire, but the smoke continued to ascend from the charred ruins for weeks and months. About 17,340 buildings were burned, more than 200 persons killed, and 98,500 made homeless. The area of the burned district was between three and four square miles, and the value of the destroyed portion $105,000,000. At such times the murderers and thieves attempt their work, and in the midst of the confusion and excitement, the citizens had to form vigilance committees. It is believed that fully fifty desperadoes were shot down before life became secure. The presence of General Sheridan with troops soon restored order.

Probably the value of the property destroyed was a third of that of the entire city. Fifty-seven of the insurance companies involved were bankrupted, the sums recovered from the other companies amounting to about one-fifth of the losses.

Practical Sympathy

The desolation of Chicago stirred the sympathy of the whole country. Contributions poured thither from every quarter, and the citizens displayed the most amazing pluck and energy. While the

* The popular version is that the cow of Mrs. Catherine O'Leary kicked over a lamp in a barn in the rear of 137 De Koven Street and started the fire, but Mrs. O'Leary vehemently denied it. To the committee which investigated the fire and its causes she made affidavit that the allegations about herself and the cow and the lamp were not true, but the world was against her. Then she refused to speak upon the matter or tell her story, holding her lips mute until her death in July, 1895.

ruins were smoking, thousands of men were toiling night and day, the buildings rising from their ashes with a rapidity and completeness that were marvellous. At the end of a year it seemed as if all traces of the fire had vanished, and a far grander city has been built upon the ruins of the old.

The "Tweed Ring"

One of the most stupendous frauds ever conceived and carried out was that of the "Tweed Ring" in the city of New York. A short time before the Chicago fire, proofs were published that the metropolis had been swindled to the extent of millions of dollars by a gang of city officials, the leader of whom was "Boss" William M. Tweed, Superintendent of the Street Department. They had become supreme in the local organization known as Tammany Hall, and in 1868 managed the elections so as to carry the State for their party. They had a law enacted at Albany, which gave them control of the government in New York, and they began enriching themselves.

A contract was made for building a new court-house, at an estimated cost of $250,000. Its erection was begun in 1869. All persons having contracts for furnishing supplies and labor were made to double and treble the amounts of their bills. Tweed was a member of the board of supervisors, which promptly passed the bills. Auditor Watson, one of the criminals, immediately audited the bills. The contractors having received what honestly belonged to them, the "ring" divided the enormous surplus among themselves.

Extent of the Frauds

Tweed was a State senator, and by corruption secured a new charter for the government of New York City. The power of auditing or passing bills was given to a board of audit, composed of A. Oakey Hall, mayor; Richard B. Connelly, comptroller; William M. Tweed, commissioner of public works, and Peter B. Sweeney, commissioner of parks. This board audited bills for the new court-house in one evening to the extent of $6,000,000, of which the "ring" received two-thirds, Tweed's share amounting to a million. Before the end of the year $2,000,000 more were charged against the account of the court-house. To check criticism, hundreds of people were placed on the pay-rolls of the city and paid large salaries for doing nothing. Others were hushed by means of "fat" contracts. Police justices were bribed and paid salaries double that of the governor of the State. The expenses of the city ran up to the astounding total of $24,000,000 a year. The debt sprang from $50,000,000 to $113,000,000, with a vast number of bills still to be heard from. The

THE GREAT FIRE IN CHICAGO

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tax-payers were defrauded in the end out of fully $160,000,000, "or four times the fine levied on Paris by the German army," and when Tweed was confronted with the amazing facts he coolly asked, "Well, what are you going to do about it?"

By and by discord came into the "ring." Ex-Sheriff James O'Brien and State Senator Harry Genet revolted. O'Brien told the whole story to the New York *Times*, which, in July, 1871, published it. It shook the city like the rocking of an earthquake. It seemed too incredible for belief, but at a mass-meeting held at Cooper Institute, September 4th, a committee of seventy was appointed to investigate and bring the criminals to justice. Tweed was arrested the following month, and gave a million dollars bail. A month later he was elected State senator, but did not take his seat.

Exposure of the Frauds

Comptroller Connelly, being arrested, gave half a million dollars bail and fled the country. In 1872 several suits were brought against Tweed. A juror died during the trial of A. Oakey Hall, and the next jury disagreed. A similar result was reached in the trial of Tweed, who had not lost his power of corrupting men. However, in November, 1873, he was found guilty on each of the fifty-one indictments. He was ordered to pay a fine of $12,550 and was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment on Blackwell's Island; but the Court of Appeals decided that he must be set free, because he had been confined on a cumulative sentence. He was released June 22d. Meanwhile other suits were brought against him, one of which was to recover $6,000,000. He was held to bail for $3,000,000, failing to find which he was sent to Ludlow Street Jail. On account of his health, he was allowed occasionally to ride in the park and to visit his residence. On December 4th, while at his home, he escaped (or was allowed to escape) his keepers, and after remaining in hiding for several months, sailed in a yacht to Cuba, whence he made his way to Spain. We had no extradition treaty at the time with that country, and Tweed felt that at last he was safe; but Spain was inclined to help us, because of some courtesy received from Secretary Seward. Accordingly the fugitive was arrested at Vigo, sent back to this country, and lodged again in jail on Blackwell's Island.*

Arrest of Tweed

* The Tweed ring offered Thomas Nast, the artist, one hundred thousand dollars to cease drawing his cartoons of the ring and to leave the country. "I don't care what is written about me," said Tweed, "for mighty few of my constituents ever read a newspaper, but none of them can mistake those pictures. they hurt."

In the suit against the prisoner, the city received a verdict for $6,537,117.38, but only a small amount was ever recovered. Tweed promised, if released, to turn State's evidence, but the offer was not accepted, and he died in jail in April, 1878.

English Quibbling

The United States did not forget the unjust course of Great Britain in helping to fit out Confederate privateers during the war. Just before the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox, Charles Francis Adams, our minister at London, submitted to the English Government the matter of injuries inflicted on American commerce by these cruisers. Earl Russell saw that the question could not be brushed aside, and on the 30th of the following August he proposed that a commission should be opened for the consideration of all claims made by American citizens in respect of damages received. The Earl of Clarendon, who soon after succeeded Russell at the Foreign Office, made the brazen declaration, on the 2d of December, that during the war no armed vessel had left a British port to cruise against the commerce of the United States. The quibble of this statement is apparent, for everybody knew for what purpose the privateers were built, and that their arms would be placed on board *outside* of the ports.

Much anger was caused, and negotiations were broken off in 1865 and again in 1868. In the following year Reverdy Johnson, who had become our minister to England, negotiated a treaty, but it was rejected by the Senate. On January 14, 1869, however, a convention was signed by Minister Johnson and Lord Clarendon, providing that all mutually unsettled claims should be referred to four commissioners, to be equally appointed by each power. They were to hold their sittings in Washington, and to select a fifth as umpire of all disagreements that might arise.

The arrangement, however, was overturned by the Senate, on the ground that the *Alabama* claims were only incidentally referred to, and that there was no recognition of the damage done the United States by the Queen's proclamation of neutrality and Great Britain's recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent.

Definite Action

The ground thus taken by our Government caused so much resentment in England, that John Lothrop Motley, who succeeded Reverdy Johnson, was instructed to defer the settlement until the excitement had subsided. A discussion continued between the two governments, and in 1871 definite action took place, by the proposi-

tion of England to submit the dispute to the commission for the settlement of the questions connected with the Canadian fisheries. Gen. Robert C. Schenck was then our minister to England, and the high commissioners met in Washington, February 27th. They included five British and five American statesmen, among the former being Sir E. Thornton, the British minister at Washington; Sir John Macdonald, of Canada, and Mountague Bernard, Professor of International Law at Oxford. The American commissioners were Secretary of State Hamilton Fish; Justice Samuel Nelson, of the Supreme Court; Minister Schenck; E. Rockwood Hoar, formerly United States Attorney-General, and Senator George H. Williams, of Oregon. On May 8th a treaty agreeing to arbitration at Geneva was signed and promptly ratified by both governments. This treaty agreed to arbitration upon the *Alabama* claims, upon different claims by citizens of either Government against the other for damages during the Civil War, upon the fisheries, and upon the northwest boundary of the United States.

The High Commissioners

The satisfactory advance in the settlement of these questions brought great credit to the administration. The Tribunal of Arbitration consisted of one arbitrator from England, and one from the United States, and one each appointed by Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. The Italian member was Count Sclopis; the Swiss, Mr. Jacques Staempfli; and the Brazilian, Baron Itajuba. They met at Geneva, December 15, 1871, and, acting with great deliberation, did not render their decision until the following year.

Terms of the Award

The tribunal threw out the question of indirect claims, and made no award for the expense of pursuing Confederate cruisers, or for any prospective earnings that were lost by their victims. For the negligence of Great Britain in not preventing the equipment, arming, and provisioning of the privateers, the sum of $15,500,000 was awarded to the United States.

The northwest boundary question was also decided in our favor. The treaty of 1846 provided that this line should run westward along the 49th parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca's Strait to the Pacific Ocean." The dispute was whether "the middle" required the line to pass through the Strait of Rosario, on the side next to Washington Territory, or through the Canal de Haro, on the Vancouver side.

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

In other words, did those islands belong to Great Britain or to the United States? This question was referred to Emperor William I. of Germany, who, on the 21st of October, 1872, rendered his decision in favor of our claims. To quote the words of President Grant: "The award leaves us, for the first time in the history of the United States as a nation, without a question of disputed boundary between our territory and the possessions of Great Britain."

All the States Represented

Reference has been made to the quarrel between Congress and President Johnson over the question of reconstruction. It will be remembered that the ironclad requirements were met by Alabama, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, and Louisiana, which were admitted to representation in June, 1868. Georgia, being suspected of trying to evade some of the conditions, was kept from representation in the Senate until the last of January, 1871. The Georgia representatives had been given seats, but they were vacated in 1869 and remained empty until 1871, when, having ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, her members were admitted. By January 30, 1871, all the States were again represented in both Houses for the first time since 1860.

The pressure brought upon the States as conditional to their readmission brought a woful train of evils. The radical governments had been upheld by bayonets, and when these were withdrawn the white men seized every means, fair or foul, to wrest control from the hands of the colored men. They gained the ascendency in Tennessee in 1869, in North Carolina in 1870, and in Texas, Georgia, and Virginia in the following year.

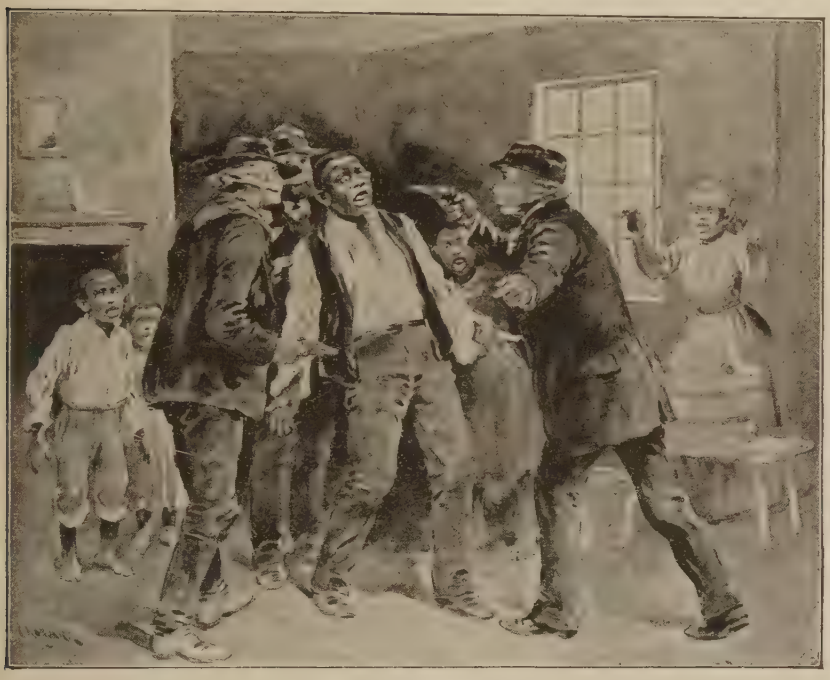
The Ku-Klux Klan

Among the organizations of enmity to the control of the negroes was the secret society known as the Ku-Klux Klan, which was formed in Tennessee in 1866, and became virulently active in that State, Arkansas, and Mississippi. The colored people were terrified by the hideous "incantations" and gruesome ceremonies of the order. If the negroes dared to resist, they were whipped or killed. Its very violence disgusted its originators, and there was general relief when the United States marshals hunted down and virtually rooted out the Ku-Klux Klan. One powerful agency was the Force Bill, passed by Congress in 1871. This gave to Federal judges cognizance of suits against any one for depriving another of his constitutional rights. The penalties imposed for conspiracy were fines and imprisonment. The army and navy were at the command of the

President to enforce the act. Fitful outbreaks of the spirit occurred for several years, and what was known as the "Mississippi plan" helped to nullify black votes until white majorities were certain.

The Act of Amnesty, passed May 22, 1872, removed all political disabilities, except in the case of a few leaders.

San Domingo is the western half of the island of Hayti, and is a



A VISIT BY THE KU-KLUX

republic of mongrel negroes, with a few whites living in the sea-coast towns. President Baez was so pestered by a rival that he thought the best course for him was to turn the country over to the United States. Upon making known his desire to President Grant, the latter sent an aide-de-camp thither in 1869, who arranged with Baez to sell the dominion to our country or to accept our protectorate. Baez was also to grant a fifty-year lease of the valuable bay and harbor of Samana.

San Domingo

President Grant warmly favored the plan, which was strongly opposed by Senator Sumner, whose arguments against its acquisition

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

caused the rejection of the treaty by the Senate, and ended the hitherto warm friendship between the Senator and the President.

The census of 1870 showed the population of our country to be 38,558,371, an increase of 7,000,000 during the preceding decade. It ought to have been 10,000,000 at least, but the losses of life through war, decrease of immigration, and the general confusion wholly checked the growth in some sections of the South.

Census of 1870

There were a number of notable deaths during the administrations of Grant. Gen. Robert Edward Lee, who was serving as president of the Washington and Lee University, Virginia, died suddenly at his own home in 1870, being stricken while sitting at the table with his family.

A few months previous, Edwin M. Stanton, the bluff, aggressive, and intensely loyal Secretary of War, died. He was appointed to the bench of the Supreme Court by President Grant, but he had exhausted all his energies in the service of his country, and his career was at an end.

Notable Deaths

Gen. George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chickamauga," and Admiral Farragut passed away in 1870, to be followed in 1872 by William H. Seward, Professor Morse, and Gen. George G. Meade. The long and prodigious mental strain of the war was as fatal to many of the leaders as were the bullets fired in battle.

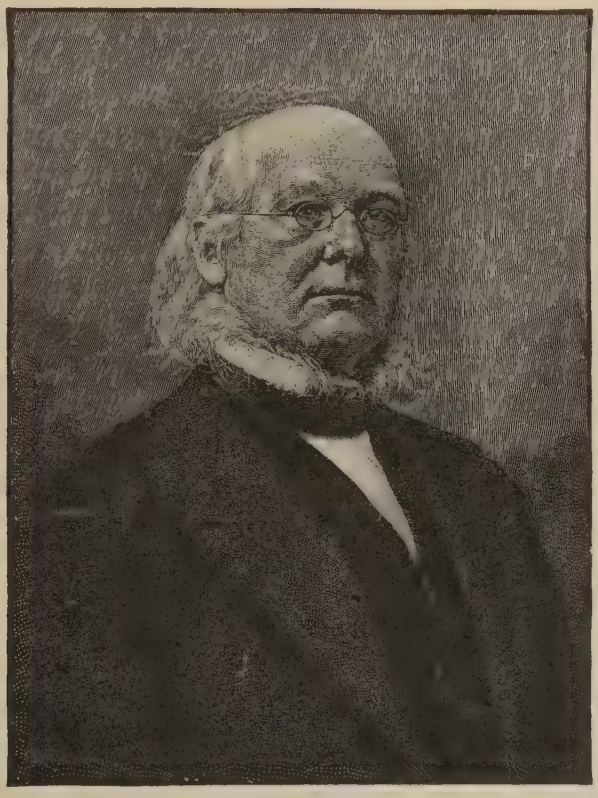
Chief Justice Chase died from a stroke of paralysis, in May, 1873; and in March, 1874, the distinguished United States Senator from Massachusetts, Charles Sumner, breathed his last.

Ex-President Fillmore passed away in Buffalo, N. Y., March 8, 1874, followed unexpectedly by ex-President Johnson, who died at his home at Greenville, Tenn., July 31, 1875.

Horace Greeley had been for years the most famous editor in the United States. He founded the New York *Tribune*, and his forceful power of expression made that journal a strong factor in the politics of the country. He was a man of great simplicity, honest, a vigorous fighter with his pen, a theoretical farmer, as fond as Gladstone of cutting down trees, impetuous and quick-tempered (sometimes finding relief in profanity), and with a handwriting so execrable that few could read it without special instruction.

Greeley was one of the kindest-hearted of men. He lost thousands of dollars through loaning money to friends, and, as soon as the war ended, his hatred of slavery and rebellion changed to charity

for those that had been engaged in upholding the two. It has been told how ready he was to become one of the bondsmen of Jefferson Davis. He opposed the severe measures of Grant in reconstruction with so much earnestness that the two became foes. In January, 1872, the Liberal Republicans—that is, those who opposed the drastic measures of reconstruction—in Missouri, issued a call for a



HORACE GREELEY

national convention in Cincinnati. The *Tribune* ardently supported the movement, and was joined by several other influential journals. Those that were dissatisfied with the policy of the administration acted with the Liberals. Senator Sumner proposed an amendment to the Constitution, by which a President should be ineligible for a second term, and many of those known as active Republicans openly declared that if Grant were nominated for a second term they would not support him.

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

Greeley became the embodiment of the opposition to the administration, and at the convention of the "Come-outers," held in Cincinnati, May 1st, he was placed in nomination for the presidency, with B. Gratz Brown, Governor of Missouri, as the candidate for Vice-President. The platform declared for general amnesty in the South, local self-government, and the abolition of all military authority as superseding civil law. A great deal of corruption had crept into the civil service, which was denounced, and declaration was made against a second term for the presidency.

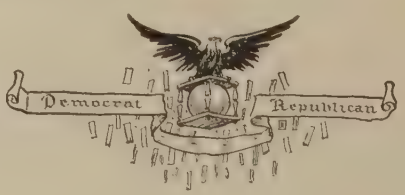
Presidential Campaign of 1872

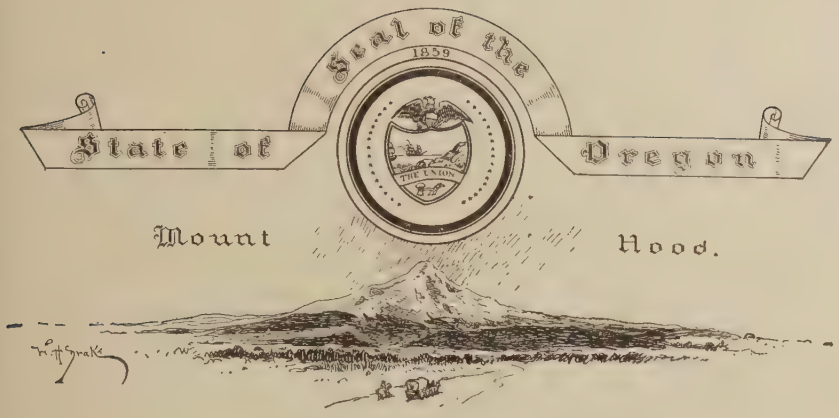
The Republican convention assembled in Philadelphia, June 5th, and renominated Grant, with Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, holding second place on the ticket. The platform favored civil service reform and perfect equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights throughout the country. It sustained the President's Southern policy, though insisting that State governments should be allowed to act so far as practicable.

The Democratic convention met in Baltimore, July 9th, and accepted the platform and candidates of the Liberal Republicans. There was much dissatisfaction, for there was some ground for the declaration that while the Republicans had nominated a former Democrat, the Democrats had nominated a life-long opponent of their principles. Some of the disappointed Democrats came together in Louisville, September 3d, and nominated Charles O'Conor for President and John Quincy Adams for Vice-President. Both declined, but the nominations remained.

Death of Greeley

Despite the herculean labors of Greeley in the campaign, his defeat was overwhelming. He carried only 6 States, all Southern, while Grant received the votes of 31 States, and 286 of the 366 votes cast, his popular majority being 760,000. Greeley was so crushed by the magnitude of his defeat, by the bitterness of the campaign, by the loss of his wife, who died during the canvass, and by his terrific exertions, that his mind gave way and he died on the 29th of the following November.





CHAPTER LXXX

GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, 1873–1877

[*Authorities:* It is perhaps an interesting question in casuistry whether it is simple greed for office with its emoluments, or whether it is conviction of political rectitude that induces the intensity and bitterness in partisan strife that we see exemplified in politics. Such contests and rivalries as we observe in Louisiana between McEnery and Kellogg, and in Arkansas between Brooks and Baxter, have the effect of starting the question whether political right and wrong has anything to do with the adherence of the masses to their political idols. It is perhaps an illustration of what Herbert Spencer means in his great work on "First Principles," that in every human contention there is much that is right even if there is much that is wrong. Warring against what is known as "carpet-bag" government, the people of the South were not wholly wrong, and their enemies endeavoring to secure for the freedmen a fair vote and a fair count of their votes were just as nearly right. Doubtless, in time, these disagreements will be adjusted, but in the mean time much suffering and much injustice must come to somebody. Many other subjects for the consideration of the political and the ethical philosopher are suggested in this chapter. The same authorities as are suggested in the preceding chapter will be found instructive for this chapter also.]

Entrance to the White House

IN his inaugural address President Grant took a firm stand in favor of the negroes' civil rights, insisting that no executive control was exercised in the Southern States which would not be exercised in the others should it become necessary. He pledged himself to do all he could to restore good feeling between the sections, favored the extension of the country's territorial domains, and the establishment of the currency on a solid basis.

Grant's first administration had been attended with general prosperity. There was a rapid increase of gold and silver in the Pacific States and Territories. Agriculture quickly became profitable, for wars and failure of crops in Europe created a demand for American

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

grain and capital. New agricultural regions were developed in the West, and more lines of railway were built between 1869 and 1873 than had ever been laid in any other country of the world. In fact, this great industry was extended beyond the demands of the times. The result was seen in 1873, when a financial panic set in, which lasted until 1879, and caused widespread distress and many failures

Political Scandals

Worse than these, however, were the number of political scandals. The Union Pacific Railway was created by Congress, in July, 1862, for the purpose of building a line from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. The stock was fixed at $1,000,000,000, and an enormous amount of government bonds were loaned, vast tracts of land donated, and fourteen years allowed for its completion. The sales of stock were so scant that for several years substantially no labor was done.

The Credit Mobilier of America was organized in 1859, in Pennsylvania, as the "Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency." In March, 1865, under its new name, it made a contract with the Union Pacific Company to complete the building of the line to the Pacific. When 247 miles were finished, dissension arose among the directors of the Credit Mobilier. T. C. Durant was its president, and he was also vice-president of the Union Pacific. He wished to realize all the profits possible out of the construction, while others favored waiting until the profits were legitimately earned. As a consequence of the wrangle, Durant was ousted from office, but he stopped the company from getting any more contracts, until, when the Credit Mobilier was on the verge of failing, he agreed that Oakes Ames, a large holder of the stock and a Massachusetts representative in Congress, should take a contract for completing the road.

The Credit Mobilier

Ames transferred his contract to seven trustees, who went forward and finished the great work, the opening of which has already been described. In 1867 and 1868 Ames sold a good many shares of Credit Mobilier stock to his brother Congressmen, asking and receiving precisely what it cost him, though its value had greatly increased. A quarrel arose between Ames and Col. H. S. McComb, of Delaware, who claimed that he had not received $25,000 worth of stock for which he had subscribed for a friend. In the course of the crisp correspondence Ames declared that he had placed the stock with a number of Congressmen, where it would "do the most good." This expression becoming public, it was charged by the papers that

Ames had distributed thirty thousand shares of the stock, worth $9,000,000, as bribes among the Congressmen. The charges were generally believed, and the Poland Committee of the House, which investigated the matter, reported, February 18, 1873, that Ames had sought to influence the votes of members. He asserted that he had not given away a single share and never made the first attempt to bribe any person, while no legislation affecting the Credit Mobilier had come up or was expected to come up before Congress. That body, however, censured and would have expelled him, had not the offence been committed under a previous Congress. The charges involved the Speaker of the House, the Vice-President, the Republican nominee for the vice-presidency, the Secretary of the Treasury, and other of the foremost leaders of the Republican party. No explanation or argument can justify the action of Congressmen in purchasing this stock from Ames. Since they were liable to be called upon to legislate in the interests of the railway, the stock was unquestionably in the nature of a bribe, and nothing else can be made of it. It was believed that the exposure of the scandal would greatly strengthen the canvass for Greeley; but, if so, such strength was more than balanced by the support of the Tammany organization, which had not yet recovered from the unearthing of the Tweed frauds.

OAKES AMES

Bribery

The Republicans gained the ascendency in Louisiana in November, 1870, but the party was disrupted by quarrels. Lieutenant-Governor Dunn died a year later, and Percy B. S. Pinchback, a colored supporter of Governor Warmoth, was elected president of the Senate. Warmoth was opposed by most of the Federal office-holders, and they declared Pinchback's election illegal. Carter, an opponent of Warmoth, was elected Speaker of the House. Bitter

Louisiana Politics

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

wrangling followed, during which Warmoth and a number of his adherents were arrested, and finally Carter was deprived of his seat.

The next step was a quarrel between Governor Warmoth and Pinchback, the former being at the head of the Liberal Republican movement in the State. The Liberals joined forces with the Democrats and "reformers," and put forward a ticket with John McEnery for governor, and an electoral ticket supporting Greeley and Brown. The Pinchback party nominated W. P. Kellogg and sided with the regular Republicans in voting for Grant and Wilson. Pinchback was the candidate for Congressman at large.

Political Quarrels

Both parties claimed the election, and one returning board declared for the Liberal Republican candidates, while the other said the same of their opponents. The Warmoth board gave McEnery 7,000 majority, while the Pinchback did much better, declaring Kellogg elected governor by 19,000 majority. Separate lists of legislative members were made up, and on January 7, 1873, when the legislature was to meet, the two bodies began business, with United States soldiers present to preserve order. Soon afterward both McEnery and Kellogg took the oath of office, each claiming to be the rightfully chosen governor.

John Lynch, chairman of the Returning Board and a fair-minded man, thought, as did General Longstreet, that the freedmen's vote had been restrained by intimidation, and that if fairly cast probably would have brought about the election of Kellogg. They believed that if the formal certificate were given to Kellogg and the plain truth told to Congress, a new election would be ordered, under the protection of General Sheridan. Accordingly Lynch went to Washington and made a frank statement to the Republican leaders, adding that in the opinion of General Longstreet and himself neither Kellogg nor McEnery ought to be installed as governor until after a new and fair election. Many Republican Congressmen coincided with this view, but after many delays and conferences the leaders decided that since Kellogg had been legally installed, the *de facto* governorship should not be disturbed.

Kellogg Government Sustained

Lynch and Longstreet were unsparingly condemned for being the authors of the Kellogg government, when in reality the responsibility lay with the Republican leaders in Congress. The fatal error of Lynch and Longstreet was in not suspecting that by the issuance

of the formal certificate to Kellogg, the door was thereby hermetically closed against the correction of the wrong.

The McEnery government kept its organization, though it was wholly out of power. In August, 1874, the two parties having met in convention, news was telegraphed that six Republican officials had been arrested and shot. Some declared that the whites had begun a ferocious war on the negroes, while others asserted that it was a revolt of the negroes themselves.

The "Carpet Bag" Blight

Louisiana, like several other Southern States, was cursed by "carpet-bag" rule. During the six years following the war, taxes in Louisiana increased nearly five hundred per cent. This blight on the South was graphically depicted by Judge Black, when he declared that a general conflagration sweeping over all the State from one end to the other, and destroying every building and every article of personal property, would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison to the blight of such a government.

Nearly all the metropolitan police of New Orleans were colored men, forming a part of the militia and under the command of Kellogg himself. Their opponents were the White League. A committee from a mass-meeting, held in September, 1874, called upon Governor Kellogg with a request that he would resign his office. He had taken refuge in the Custom-House, strongly garrisoned by United States troops. He sent out a refusal to receive any communication. The angered citizens formed in procession, and stationed armed men at the street crossings and barricaded several streets. The people who did this were under the command of General Ogden. General Longstreet stationed five hundred of the metropolitan police, with cavalry and artillery, at the head of Canal Street, and called upon the armed citizens to disperse. The call was unheeded, and the Metropolitans assaulted the position of the citizens. The conflict was sharp, but the Metropolitans were routed, General Longstreet and others taking refuge in the Custom-House. The State House was captured the next morning, and immediately after the Metropolitan force surrendered. Then the barricades disappeared and comparative quiet returned to the city.

Rioting in New Orleans

The triumph of the citizens was complete and roused enthusiasm everywhere. The leaders insisted upon moderation, and the negroes were assured that neither they nor their property would be molested. This promise was kept, and the McEnery officials were installed

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

throughout the State. The United States troops cheered General Ogden's militia, who heartily responded.

President Grant was highly displeased with these proceedings. He ordered the insurgents to disperse in five days, sent troops and men-of-war to New Orleans, and instructed General Emory to give no recognition to the government that had established itself in power, but to recognize Kellogg. On the 19th of September Kellogg was persuaded to come out from hiding and resume his office. Some of the McEnery men retained their places, since the Kellogg officials who were to succeed them were too frightened to show themselves. McEnery and Penn, the lieutenant-governor, urged submission on the part of all, and set the example himself. He and his friends knew that the Federal bayonets must be withdrawn some day, and they were content to await the verdict of the untrammelled vote of the people.

The Kellogg Government Recognized

The election of November 2, 1874, foreshadowed a Democratic success, many of the colored voters breaking away from the Republican ranks. The returning board, however, threw out enough votes to give the Treasury to the Republicans and a majority of two in the legislature, with the question undetermined as to the election of five candidates. These changes were made on the ground of intimidation and fraud at the polls. The Congressional Investigating Committee, composed of two Republicans and one Democrat, unanimously declared the action of the returning board arbitrary, unjust, and illegal, and that its action was all that prevented the return of a majority of the Conservative members of the lower House.

Affairs became so threatening that President Grant added the Department of the Gulf to the command of Sheridan, and telegraphed him to proceed to New Orleans.

At the State House

On January 4, 1875, the legislature met. There was intense excitement everywhere, and all felt that stirring events were at hand. The State House bristled with Federal bayonets, and the swarm of Metropolitans allowed no one to enter save by permission of Governor Kellogg. At noon, when the clerk of the preceding House called the roll, fifty-two Republicans and fifty Democrats responded. A Democrat instantly nominated L. A. Wiltz as temporary chairman, and without waiting for the clerk he himself put the motion and declared it carried by a *viva voce* vote. Wiltz hurried to the platform, hurled the clerk aside, and wrenched the gavel from him.

The members were sworn in wholesale. Before the Republicans fairly comprehended what was going on, a new clerk and a new sergeant-at-arms were elected. Assistants to these officers were elected in the same hurried manner. Amid the tumult, protests, and confusion, the five contesting Democrats were admitted and sworn in. The Republicans who attempted to leave were prevented by the

SCENE IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE

strong force of assistant sergeants-at-arms, and Wiltz was elected Speaker. Pistols were drawn, and the disorder became uncontrollable. Colonel de Trobriand, in command at the State House, was appealed to for a force to preserve order in the lobby. He complied, and for an hour the proceedings went on without trouble. Then, by order of Governor Kellogg, the five Democratic members who had been given the vacant seats were removed by Federal soldiers, after which the Republicans effected their own organization.

Organization by Republicans

These high-handed proceedings awakened sympathy for the oppressed, who appealed to the country for justice. Many indigna-

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

tion meetings were held, at which the foremost Republicans and leading citizens condemned the use to which the Federal troops had been put General Sheridan, influenced naturally by the stories of the carpet baggers and rogues, was a strong friend of Kellogg and his supporters. The Senate called upon President Grant for an explanation, and he replied in a special message, defending the means he had employed. Early in 1875 a new committee of investigation into Louisiana affairs recommended submission to the Kellogg government and arbitration by the committee of contested seats in the legislature. As a result, twelve of the members excluded by the returning board were given seats. Mr. Wiltz withdrew as a candidate for Speaker, and a Democrat was elected, and thus began the downfall of carpet-bagism in Louisiana.

Downfall of Carpet-Bagism in Louisiana

Having traced the course of misgovernment in Louisiana, let us see what it effected elsewhere. The interlopers who flocked southward like vultures scenting their prey were said to carry all their possessions in a carpet-bag, from which they received the derisive name. The majority were adroit scoundrels, who took advantage of the ignorance and fears of the black men to secure power. They terrified the negroes by making them believe that if the Democrats gained the upper hand again, they would make slaves of the colored people. The carpet-baggers and Southern "scalawags" (generally former fire-eaters and plantation overseers) plunged the States headlong into debt; they openly bribed voters; stole hundreds of thousands of dollars; debauched the negroes, of whom some of the most besotted and ignorant, unable to read or write a word, were sent to the legislatures to make laws for their former masters; they lounged in their seats, with their huge feet elevated in front, while they smoked expensive cigars for which the State paid; they adjourned pell-mell to attend the circus, rode in gorgeous carriages, beside gorgeously arrayed black women, whose houses were furnished with carpet costing four dollars a yard, and with furniture corresponding; they wallowed in champagne, voted away vast sums of money for thieves, who divided with them and who joined in their wild rioting and devilry.

Carpet-Baggers and "Scalawags"

And yet among this abominable riffraff, and amid this saturnalia of crime, were a few honest, conscientious men, who hoped and strove to bring about good results by methods that were wrong. Prominent among these was General Longstreet, who believed it his patri-

otic duty to accept in spirit and letter the results of the war. No suspicion can attach to his name, when his devotion to principle brought him the loss of friends, property, and the confidence of his old soldiers, who had followed him as one of the foremost soldiers of the Confederacy.

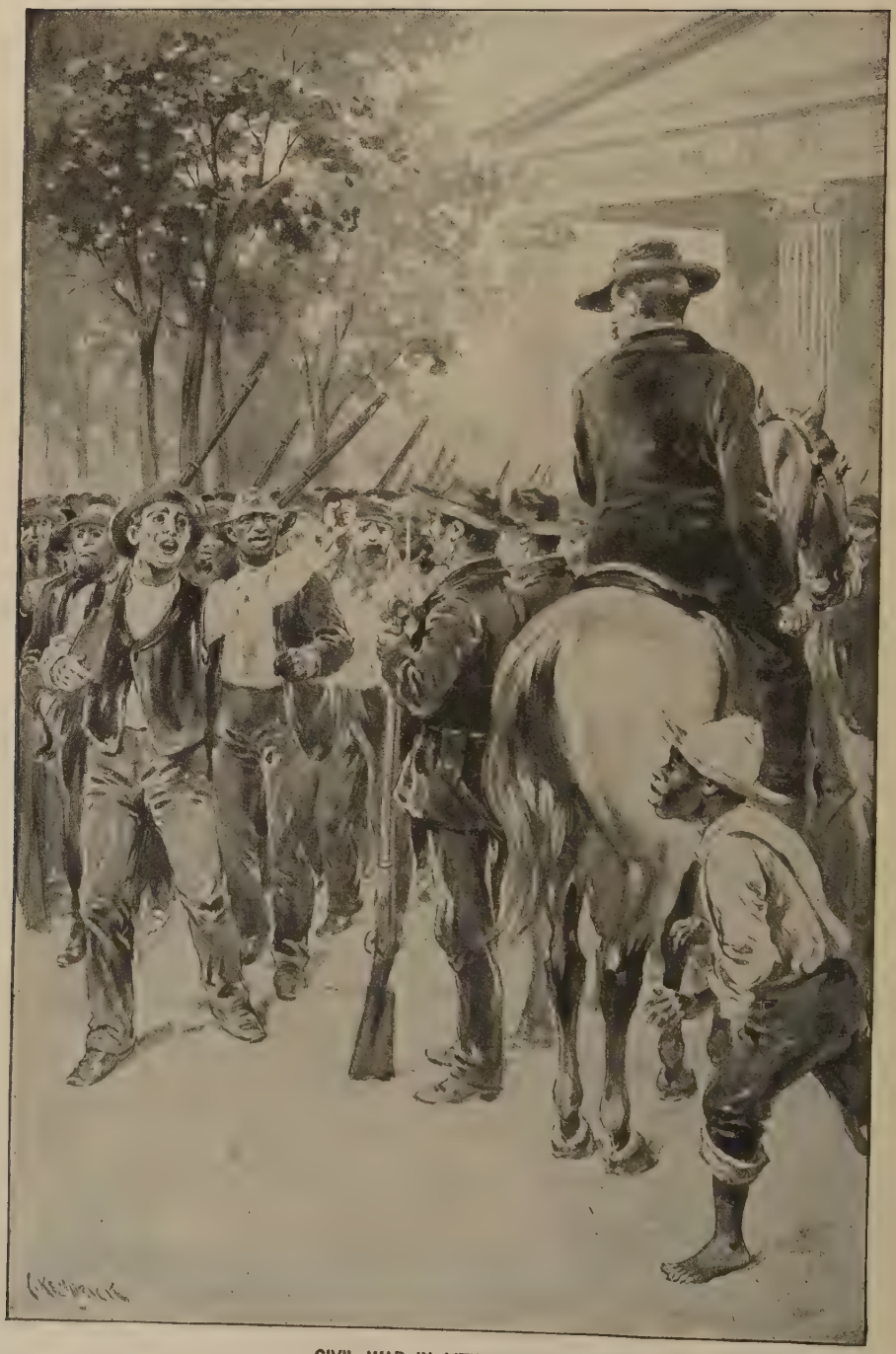
Civil War in Arkansas

In Arkansas the Liberal Republicans were led by James Brooks, and the Radical Republicans by Elisha Baxter. The election returns of 1872 indicated the election of Baxter, but Brooks charged fraud and put forth every effort to have the verdict of the election set aside. His appeals to the United States Court, the State Supreme Court, and the Legislature were refused, whereupon he obtained from the Circuit Court of Pulaski County, in April, 1874, a decree of "ouster" against Baxter. He took possession of the Court-House with nearly two hundred armed men, including several cannon. He proclaimed martial law, entered Little Rock with a strong force, and occupied the State House. Baxter naturally was indignant, but he was warned by the Federal troops, who remained neutral, to do nothing that might bring on a conflict. Partisans flocked to both sides, until the capital of Arkansas was a picture of war times.

A number of negroes who were applauding an impassioned speech of Baxter were fired into, whether accidentally or not is uncertain. In an instant every one seemed to be shooting, and a great loss of life must have resulted had not the Federal troops interfered. The situation was very tense, and on April 30th a fierce fight took place between the factions, in which fully fifty Brooks men were killed and wounded. The streets of Little Rock were barricaded, and several more sharp skirmishes were accompanied by loss of life. The city—the only one at that time in the State—became an armed camp, with the hatred so bitter on each side that compromise was out of the question.

President Grant's Action

Baxter's legislature met, May 11th, and immediately asked for the protection of the United States. President Grant promptly recognized the Baxter government, and ordered all disorderly persons to disperse. There was a gigantic plot on foot to rob the State of more than $5,000,000 through the issuance of railway bonds. Baxter quarrelled with the leaders of his party, and to punish him for his honesty, the State Supreme Court, presided over by Chief Justice John McClure, popularly known as "Poker Jack," and which had refused to assume jurisdiction, now did so, on May 7, 1874, and



CIVIL WAR IN LITTLE ROCK

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FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY C. KENDRICK

reversing its former denial of jurisdiction, affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court in favor of Brooks.

The legislature provided for a constitutional convention on July 14, 1874, and the people at large ratified the act by a decisive majority. The new constitution, adopted by a vote of more than three to one, took away the governor's enormous patronage and his power to declare martial law. It deprived the returning board of the dangerous authority it had held, and vested the right to compile the election returns, to reject fraudulent votes, and if necessary to order a new election, in a board of three sworn officers. The State Democracy declared these changes wise and just, and were so pleased that they offered the nomination for governor to Baxter, but he declined, and there being no nomination, the Democratic candidate, Augustus H. Garland, was elected governor, October 13, 1874. The Poland Committee of Congress indorsed the Arkansas constitution, declaring it republican in form, and recommended no interference with it by the United States Government. The President took the opposite view, expressing his belief that the new constitution was revolutionary, but the House adopted the report, and the internal troubles in Arkansas were at an end. On the recommendation of Governor Garland, March 25, 1875, was observed as a day of thanksgiving for the happy deliverance from discord and strife.

The End in Arkansas

South Carolina also suffered much from carpet-bag rule. Reference has been made to the grotesque scenes in her halls of legislation and to the villainy of her legislators. To illustrate: A railway company was chartered to lay eighty miles of track, for which the State was to pay the company $10,000 upon the completion of each section of ten miles. When the first ten miles were finished, the company drew $10,000, took up the tracks just laid, and relaid them over the next ten miles, and then the second bonus was collected. This unique system was carried out to the end, so that the road when done and accepted by the State was just ten miles in length, and had cost the tax-payers $800,000. Any white convict in prison could secure freedom by paying a bribe. The worst negro criminals were released so as to secure their votes, and the juries were often composed of men who had committed more atrocious crimes than the prisoners under trial. One of the three justices of the Supreme Court was a negro, and another a "carpet-bagger."

The Curse in South Carolina

As in Arkansas, the plunderers by and by quarrelled among

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

themselves. The struggle was a furious one, ending in 1874 in the nomination of D. H. Chamberlain in place of Moses. It was a fatal mistake on the part of the carpet-baggers, for Chamberlain was a

CHIEF GALL

New Englander of education, a graduate of the Harvard Law School, a brilliant lawyer, and a cultured gentleman, who had done excellent service during the war. The Independent Republicans bolted and

nominated Judge John T. Green, a native of the State, and sought to rally the reform element of South Carolina under their standard.

Chamberlain was successful. In his inaugural he declared in favor of retrenchment and reform. This was to be expected, and caused no misgiving among his supporters, but, to their consternation, the new governor soon showed that he was in earnest. He used his vast patronage to effect needed improvements; he turned out dishonest officials and put honest men in their places, caring

GENERAL CUSTER'S HEADQUARTERS

naught whether they were Republicans or Democrats; he declined to pardon felons, and vetoed corrupt bills; he refused to commission the infamous Moses and the scoundrel Whipper, who had been elected to the Circuit Bench, and he saw that trustworthy men were placed upon juries. Carpet-bagism was doomed in South Carolina as elsewhere, and happily the hideous blot was soon removed from the face of our civilization.

An Honest Governor

On the 4th of July, 1876, the Declaration of Independence was a hundred years old. Long before the arrival of the notable anniversary, the people felt that one of the greatest events in the history of mankind should receive a fitting celebration. Congress took up the question in 1871, and two years later it was formally proclaimed by President Grant. In 1874 foreign governments were invited to take

part in it. All the civilized nations, thirty-three in number, excepting Greece, made cordial responses. Philadelphia, where the nation was born, was chosen as the seat of the Centennial Exposition. A space of 285 acres was enclosed in Fairmount Park, and a number of appropriate buildings erected. The principal structures were the Main Building, Machinery, Agricultural, Horticultural, and Memorial Halls. Twenty-six States and several foreign governments put up structures of their own. The total number of buildings within the enclosure was more than two hundred.

The Centennial Exposition

The Exposition was formally opened by President Grant, May 10th, in the presence of a hundred thousand people from every quarter of the country. Other simple but impressive ceremonies were held on July 4th in the public square at the rear of Independence Hall, during which Richard Henry Lee, grandson of the mover of the Declaration of Independence, advanced to the front, and, amid the cheers of the thousands, displayed the original Declaration itself. Although the summer was unusually hot, the attendance steadily increased, until it seemed that the Quaker City would be overrun by the multitudes, among whom were visitors from every quarter of the globe. The greatest number present was on September 28th, which was "Pennsylvania Day," when 275,000 persons passed through the gates. During the six months of the Exposition the total number of visitors was 9,900,000.

President Grant, although of unquestioned personal integrity, gave his confidence in many cases, as has been shown, to unscrupulous men, and, with the soldierly promptings of comradeship, stood by them even when their guilt was clear to others. Reference has been made to the impeachment of Belknap, his Secretary of War. It was proved that he had corruptly received large sums of money, but he never wholly lost the friendship of the President.

The Indian Territory

In 1874 there were nearly one hundred thousand Indians in the Indian Territory, who were in a fair state of civilization, with schools, academies, churches, newspapers, and a system of government modelled after our own. The five civilized tribes, as they were known, included the Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Seminoles. Their advances in civilization led President Grant to hope for improvement among the wilder tribes. His first purpose was to transfer the Indian Bureau to the War Department, but the plan was opposed by Congress, the army, and the Indians themselves.

Finally he placed the supervision of Indian affairs in the hands of a commission, composed of excellent men representing certain religious bodies. They were embarrassed in their work, and so frequently "turned down" by the authorities that their efforts came to naught, and they virtually dissolved.*

* The last extra bulletin of the Census Office gives a number of noteworthy facts concerning the condition of the five civilized tribes of the Indian Territory. An important truth to be remembered is that the civilization of these tribes or nations is due more to the white and negro members who at one time or another have been admitted by adoption than to the Indians themselves. Pure-blooded Indians indeed form only a small element of the population. Of the 178,000 persons enumerated in 1890, those who claimed to be Indians by descent formed only about twenty-eight per cent., while in the Creek nation they were less than ten per cent. The figures for the five tribes were: Indians, 50,055; whites, 109,393; negroes, 18,636. Even among those claiming to be Indians are many quarter-breeds and half-breeds. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the advances made by these tribes prove anything as to the capacity of the genuine Indian for civilization. The agricultural work is done almost wholly by the negroes, as was the case before the war, when all the tribes except the Seminoles owned slaves. To the preponderance of the white population is due the almost universal adoption of the Christian religion, the establishment of newspapers, and the educational progress. The same cause has led ninety per cent. of the five tribes to use the ordinary dress of American citizens. Here and there are a few medicine men, and some still cling to the heathenish faith, while the Creeks and Choctaws keep up the old ball play. The majority of the Indians use the Indian languages. The Cherokees have an alphabet in which their books and laws are printed. *The Cherokee Advocate*, the national organ, published at Tahlequah, is printed half in English and half in Cherokee. The books used in all the public schools of the five nations, however, are in the English language. The amount of money devoted to education varies in the different nations. The Cherokees expend half of the revenue from the funds in the hands of the United States to support an orphan asylum, male and female seminaries, and 100 primary schools. The number of children attending the Cherokee public schools in 1890 was 4,439. The negroes are educated apart. The Chickasaws have 5 boarding schools and 15 neighborhood schools; the Choctaws have 4 academies, besides several denominational institutions and 174 public schools. The Creeks, who give less attention to education, expend over $76,000 a year for 36 neighborhood schools, attended by negroes, whites, and Indians. The five tribes have 422 church edifices, the Methodists being the most numerous, with the Baptists next, and then the Presbyterians. There are 14 papers published besides *The Cherokee Advocate*, and several display marked ability.

The treaty of 1866 gives the Indian courts the power to punish members of the five tribes for violations of the criminal law. When an Indian is condemned to death by shooting, he has given to him a respite of thirty days, in order that he may go home and settle up his affairs. He is not guarded nor watched, and when he has completed his business he bids his family good-by, returns at the date appointed, and is shot. Strange as it may seem, up to 1890 not a single man thus condemned has failed to appear for execution. There is no taxation, direct or indirect, among the five tribes, the government revenue being sufficient for all purposes from the interest on the funds held in trust by the United States, rents from leased lands, and receipts from licenses to trade and from the "permits" to reside given to intruders. Since lands are held in common, only the improvements on them and personal property are subjects of sale and of levy for debt. No titles are recorded, since individual ownership of land is unknown, but

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

The swindling of the Indians, which began two centuries before, has since continued uninterruptedly. The "Indian Ring" at Washington was a gang of as corrupt miscreants as ever went unhanged. It brought to naught all the attempts to better the condition of the red men. It provided the Indians with bones for meat, rotting rags for blankets, took away their cultivated lands and gave them tracts of deserts, and one-tenth of the annuities and money due them, stealing the other nine-tenths as pay for having done so much.

SCOUT CURLEY

When the white man saw a chance of acquiring money by trampling upon the red man's rights, he eagerly seized the chance of doing so. Thus it came about that, in the autumn of 1874, gold was discovered among the Black Hills, which was on the Sioux Reservation, between Wyoming and the present State of South Dakota.

Trampling upon the Indian's Rights

No one had the moral or legal right to set foot upon that land except the Indians and the necessary government officers, but intruders soon flocked thither in quest of gold. General Sheridan forbade the unlawful business, but it went on unchecked. The buffaloes, which were the main source of food supply for the Indians, were slain by the tens of thousands. Excursionists shot the animals from the car windows, and acres of prairie were covered with their putrefying carcasses.

In December, 1870, delegates from numerous tribes met at Ocmulgee, in the Choctaw nation. This was at the suggestion of the Presi-

occupancy titles can be sold by one citizen of a tribe, or nation, to another, but not to a citizen of the United States. Any citizen running a furrow with a plough around a tract of land holds all within the furrow, but abandonment of the tract for a certain time, generally two years, throws it back into the common domain. Under this system immense areas are held by individuals for grazing purposes. Estimates show that an allotment of more than 160 acres to every person is possible in all of the five tribes except the Seminoles.

dent, the purpose being to consider the question of an Indian republican government, under the general oversight of the United States. The council met again in July, 1871, and a provisional government was organized. Some time later the United States began the policy of setting aside large tracts of lands to be called "reservations,"

SIOUX GRAVES

which were to be exclusively occupied by Indians. The plan might have worked well, except for the dishonesty of the white men concerned. The Modocs, who numbered only a few hundreds, were living among the fine hunting-lands south of Oregon, when they were removed to a section where the soil was so barren that they would not stay. They hastened back to Oregon, and in their anger defied the United States Government to remove them. They retreated to the lava beds, just over the frontier in Northern California. Much

The Modocs

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

sympathy was felt for them because of their treatment, and it was a long time before they could be surrounded in the lava beds where they had taken refuge. Finally communication was opened and a conference held under a flag of truce, April 11, 1873, between the Indians and six members of the Peace Commission. While it was in progress the Indians suddenly attacked the white men, killing Gen. Edward S. Canby, the leading member of the Commission, and Dr. Thomas, another member, and badly wounding General Meacham, a third commissioner. This outrage led to a vigorous prosecution of the war, and on the 1st of June Gen. Jeff. C. Davis and a company of regulars forced the few Modocs to surrender. Captain Jack and two of his brother chiefs were hanged, October 3d. The rest of the band were removed to a reservation in Dakota, where they have given no further trouble.

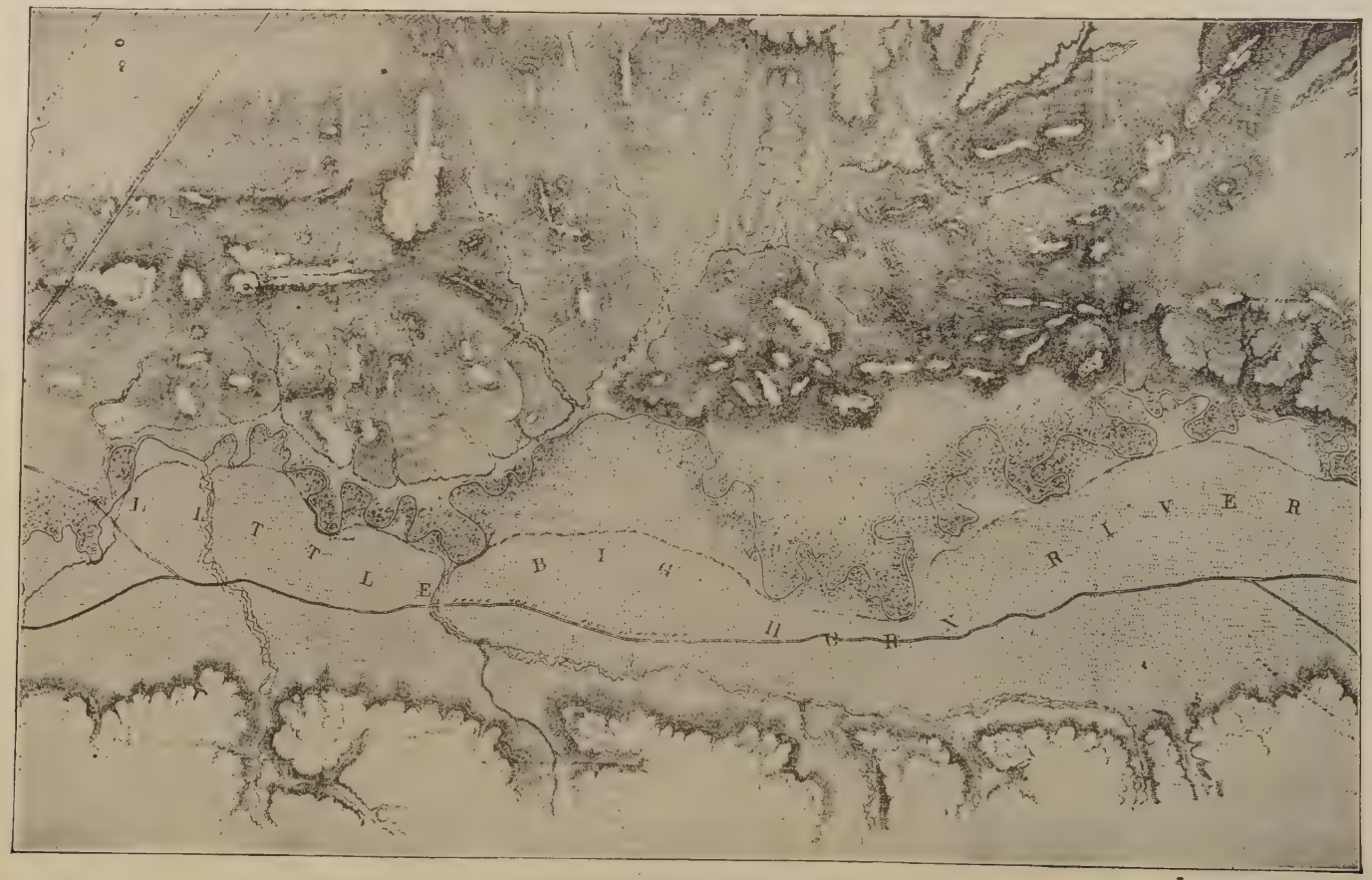
Attack upon the Peace Commission

The Sioux are probably the most powerful tribe of Indians on the American continent. The famous medicine man, Sitting Bull, has always hated the pale-faces and caused them much trouble. With a large following of his tribe he refused to sign a treaty giving up certain lands and agreeing to remain within a new reservation. The malcontents were notified that if they did not remove to the reservation before January 1, 1876, they would be treated as enemies of the Government. Sitting Bull would not stir, and the regulars opened the campaign against him in the spring. The Sioux leader chose a strong position in the rugged country of Southern Montana, known as the Bad Lands, where his band was continually increased by ambitious bucks and disaffected braves.

Trouble with the Sioux

The plan of the regulars was to converge upon the hostiles in three columns—General Gibbon from the west, General Crook from the south, and General Terry from the east. The last-named was the strongest body, and included the famous Seventh Cavalry, six hundred strong, commanded by Gen. George A. Custer. He was an officer of dashing courage, who had done brilliant service in the war, and, having laid himself open to censure by his old chief, President Grant, was eager to do something to regain his favor.

In advancing from the south, Crook was hindered by repeated attacks, but the other columns were not delayed. Terry moved up the Yellowstone as far as the Rosebud, where he made a fortified camp. On June 22d Custer rode from the camp with his cavalry, intending



GENERAL CUSTER'S BATTLEGROUND

MAJOR RENO

to move round to the south and up the Rosebud, thence driving the Indians down the Little Big Horn and into the grip of the strong force marching against them.

On June 25th Custer came upon the main trail of the hostiles, which he followed across the divide and into the Little Big Horn Valley. Certain that a fight would soon take place, he sent Major Reno with seven companies to cross the Little Big Horn, and, descending it, assail the Indians from the west. Before Reno could do this, he was attacked and forced to remain on the defensive for more than twenty-four hours.

The Custer Massacre

Custer, with the remaining five companies, unexpectedly came upon the lower end of the Sioux camp. It was of immense size, and contained thousands of fierce warriors, but without hesitation Custer and his cavalrymen charged. In an instant they were in the midst of the horde, who assailed them from every side. The particulars of the fight can never be clearly known, for every white man engaged was killed. These were about two hundred, including not only Custer, but several of his relatives. Curley, the scout of Custer, when the massacre began, wrapped himself in a Sioux blanket and not being recognized, effected his escape. The horse of Captain Keogh, known as "Comanche"

COLONEL F. N. BENTEEN

was wounded seven times and left to die by the Indians. He was afterwards found several miles from the battlefield, and in time fully recovered. It may be said that he was adopted by

GEORGE A. CUSTER

"Comanche"

the United States Government, for he was removed to Fort Reilly, Kansas, and orders were issued by the Secretary of War that he should be treated with the utmost kindness as long as he lived. No one was ever permitted to mount him, and when he was led out to the parades, fully saddled and bridled, he was saluted and received

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

with the highest honors. Thus he was kept and cared for until he finally died of old age.

Gibbon and Terry, ascending the Big Horn, came upon the bodies of Custer and his companions two days after the massacre. Custer had been shot in the left temple, and his was the only body that was not mutilated. Investigation has shown that in this shocking affair Custer and his men were outnumbered twelve to one. They dis-

"COMANCHE," THE ONLY SURVIVOR OF THE CUSTER MASSACRE

A Hopeless Fight

mounted, and taking station on two hills, the front one held by Custer and the other by Captains Keogh and Calhoun, fought with cool and desperate courage to the end. The Indians stampeded their horses, who carried off most of the ammunition in their saddle-bags. When every man was dead or dying, Indian boys galloped over the field on their ponies, firing more shots into the bodies and scalping them.

Major Reno held his position until General Gibbon reached him with reinforcements. It was then found that the Seventh Cavalry had lost 261 killed and 52 wounded.

The troops in that section were increased, and negotiations were

opened with the Sioux for their removal to the Indian Territory; but the proposal was not acceptable, and the civilized tribes objected to having such warlike neighbors. Late in the autumn the Fourth Cavalry defeated a large number of Sioux in the Big Horn Mountains, and a still more crushing defeat was administered by Colonel Miles in January.

Sitting Bull and a number of his chiefs now passed into Canada. General Terry, at the head of a commission, met Sitting Bull and his

RAIN-IN-THE-FACE

band at Fort Walsh, on the frontier, where a conference was held, October 8, 1877. Pardon was promised to all the hostiles if they would come back to their reservation and remain peaceable. They were suspicious, and, returning to Canada, remained there some time longer, but after a while re-entered American territory. Sitting Bull and several of his comrades made a tour through the United States. The terrible chief acquired considerable money by selling his autograph and exhibiting himself to the gaze of curious thousands.*

Sitting Bull as a Good Indian

* Chief Gall was the leader in this massacre, and ten years later gave a graphic description of it. Col. F. N. Benteen saved Reno by charging the Sioux repeatedly with a dash and daring which scattered the hostiles. Rain-in-the-Face was the Sioux chief who killed Dr. Hulzinger and Mr. Balliran in 1873, on the Rosebud. The gentlemen had fallen behind Custer and his command, and were found dead with no trace of their

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

Colorado became the thirty-eighth State of the Union, August 1, 1876. It was a part of the Louisiana purchase of 1803, and a portion of the Mexican cession of 1848. Gold was discovered at Pike's Peak in 1858, and silver at Leadville in 1877. Mining is the principal industry, but an immense number of cattle are raised, and the wonderful resources of the country are developing with great rapidity.

CUSTER MONUMENT

Admission of Colorado

As the second term of President Grant drew to a close, a number of his friends began to speak favorably of nominating him again; but the sentiment of the country is so averse to any one holding the

murderers. Some months later, Rain-in-the-Face boasted of the deed at a dance at Standing Rock Agency. Reynolds, one of Custer's scouts, was present and reported the fact. Rain-in-the-Face was arrested and locked in the guard-house, but escaped.

exalted office longer than Washington, that it may be said it is almost the same as if the inhibition were a part of the Constitution.

The national convention of the Republican party met in Cincinnati, June 14th. The general expectation was that James G. Blaine would receive the nomination, but his candidacy had been injured by charges of doubtful relations with a number of land-grant railways. Other candidates were put forward, but on the seventh ballot the nomination went to Gov. Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio. Not much was known of him except that he had made a good governor, had a fine record as a soldier, and his name had never been connected with any scandal.

Nomination of Hayes

The Democratic convention met at St. Louis two weeks later, and on the second ballot nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. He was a native of the State, where he was born in 1814. He was an able lawyer, and had done great service to the cause of reform, when governor of New York in 1875. The campaign was comparatively quiet, but it ended in an excitement that threatened revolution. It was expected that the result would be close, but for several days it was in doubt—so much so, indeed, that the belief gained ground that the vote was undergoing manipulation. There was no question that Tilden had carried New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Connecticut. With the aid of the solid South, he was certain of election; but the returning boards of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina threw out the votes of a number of Democratic districts on the ground of fraud and intimidation, thus making the States Republican, and giving Hayes a majority of one in the electoral college. This action caused great anger on the part of the Democrats, who openly declared that Hayes should never be inaugurated. The military force in and about Washington was strengthened.

A Grave Peril

Many persons believe that the danger which threatened our country during those days was graver than at any time in its history. The conviction was so widespread among the Democrats that a well-organized plot was on foot to defraud them out of a victory, that they were ready to fight for their rights. Had an outbreak occurred it would not have been a war of the North against the South, but a war of cities, towns, villages, hamlets, and households against one another.

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

It soon became evident that a compromise must be made, and Congress was the only body to provide it. The Electoral Commission Bill was reported by a joint committee. This was composed of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. In the last case, the fifth Justice was selected by the four appointed by the bill. Up to the selection of this fifteenth member there were seven Democrats and seven Republicans. The Republican Senators were George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen; Democratic, Allan G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard.

The Electoral Commission

The Republican Representatives were James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar; Democratic, Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton, and Josiah G. Abbott.

The Republican Justices named in the bill were William Strong and Samuel F. Miller; Democrats, Nathan Clifford and Stephen J. Field.

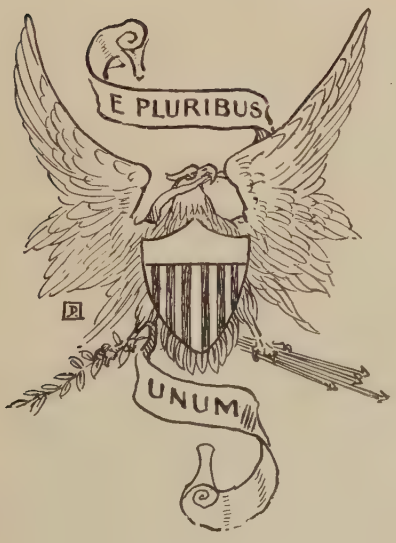
It was generally believed that the fifth Justice, who would have the controlling vote, would be David Davis, of Illinois, who was unfriendly to Grant and Democratic in his sympathies; but at this juncture he was elected United States Senator, and Justice Bradley, of New Jersey, became the fifteenth man and the real "keystone of the arch."

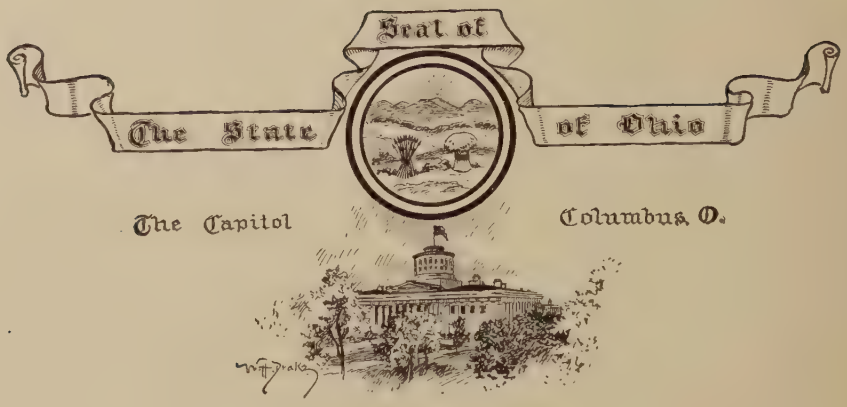
The Commission met January 31, 1877. There were three contradictory returns from Florida. One gave four votes for Tilden, another four for Hayes, and a third repeated the Democratic returns, certified as correct by the Democratic governor. That there was fraud in the Republican count can no longer be doubted, but the eminent counsel which represented that side of the question insisted that, the returns being correct on their face, the Commission had no right or power to go behind them, and that therefore the vote of Florida must be given to Hayes. The Commission, by a vote of the eight Republicans for and seven Democrats against, adopted this view. This act not only gave the votes of Florida to Hayes, but inevitably included those of Louisiana with its three sets of certificates, and South Carolina with its two. Having refused to go behind the returns in the States named, the Commission went behind them in the case of Oregon, and by a strict party vote of eight to seven decided in favor of Hayes in every case, and the formal announcement of his election followed, by a vote of 185 to 184 cast by the Tilden

Hayes Declared Elected

electors. It is useless to deny at this day that the nineteenth President of the United States was never fairly elected to his office.*

* But it must be remembered that this fraud could never have been consummated without the help of Democrats. One of the Republican leaders engaged in this business explained the methods by which Baker county, the pivotal one in Florida, was given to Hayes. The writer asked him why he did not denounce and expose the fraud. "There were too many leading men on both sides involved," he replied; "we Republicans could not buy unless the Democrats had something to sell. An exposure, which I shall always regret was not made in time to right the wrong, would have hit many a prominent Democrat as well as Republican, though the Republicans were the chief sinners."





CHAPTER LXXXI

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION, 1877–1881

[*Authorities:* Among the topics treated in this chapter one scarcely knows which deserves most emphasis: the discoveries of modern science exemplified in the telephone; the struggles arising from modern industrial conditions that we see in the strikes of labor and the mobs of the semi-civilized conditions of the South; the erratic financial notions of the entire country shown by the demonetization of silver in 1873 and its remonetization in 1878; by the question of Chinese immigration forced upon us by the rapid influx on our western shores of possible millions of cheap laborers from the Orient. The effect in general is to leave upon the mind the impression that as conditions are now, nothing is constant. The fact is, that in all matters relating to social or industrial relations, nothing is stable. What the public applauds to-day, it execrates to-morrow; the idol it worships now, in a brief time it insists upon crucifying. Nature's processes for improving the condition of the race are slow,—exasperatingly so to the optimist. But the words of the greatest modern poet are suggested to him who believes that the human race is steadily progressing, even if slowly, to a higher plane:

"But I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened by the process of the suns."

For authorities for this chapter consult the works cited in the preceding chapters.]

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822. He was graduated from Kenyon College in 1842, and finished his legal studies at Harvard University, finally settling in Cincinnati. He did excellent service during the war, and became a brigadier-general. While serving in the field in 1864, he was elected to Congress. He was governor of Ohio, 1868–72, and 1876–77. His success in his native State, which has a large electoral vote, led to his nomination for the Presidency.

Hayes's Cabinet underwent but three changes. It contained an

ex-Confederate in Postmaster-General David McK. Key, of Tennessee. William M. Evarts, of New York, was Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa (and afterward Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota), Secretary of War; Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana (and afterwards Nathan Goff, Jr., of West Virginia), Secretary of the Navy, while Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, succeeded Key. Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, was Attorney-General.

The Presidential Cabinet

President Hayes set out with the creditable purpose of doing his utmost to soothe the irritation between the North and the South, and to restore harmony throughout the country. Before his administration came into office, the Federal troops had been withdrawn from the support of the reconstructed governments, much to the satisfaction of the North as well as of the South. The last of the reconstructed governments disappeared within the following two months, and they were succeeded by a "solid South." The white voters controlled all the Southern States, and an overwhelming majority were Democratic.

The embers of hate burned for a time in South Carolina, where the unflinching integrity of Chamberlain turned most of his former supporters into enemies and made ardent friends of those that had opposed him with the greatest bitterness. Chamberlain would not permit any invasion of the negro's rights. In short, he was the one manly, honest patriot among the pestilent carpet-baggers who cursed the South for a season.

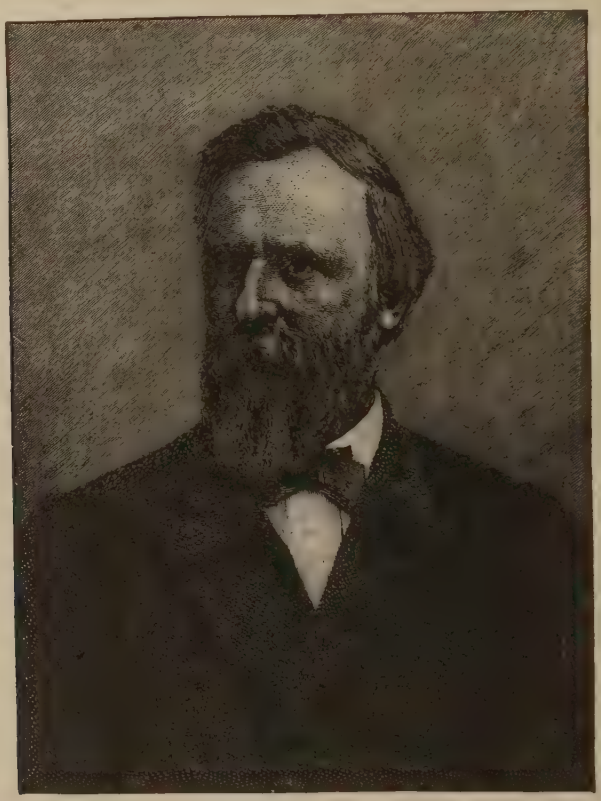
The Election in South Carolina

Inspired by the Democratic successes of 1874, the South Carolina Democrats nominated Gen. Wade Hampton for governor. He had been one of the most dashing soldiers of the Confederacy, and was a favorite with the veterans. The renomination of Chamberlain was a necessity, and official patronage was fully used to secure his election. The contest became so determined that United States troops had to be called upon to preserve order. Helpless negro prisoners were massacred at Hamburg, while in Charleston the negroes in a burst of rage shot and beat every white man who ventured upon the streets. The election was disputed, but President Hayes withdrew Federal support from South Carolina, which, as already stated, swung into the Democratic column. Wade Hampton was installed as governor. His administration won the respect of his opponents

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

and the friendship of the negroes, who found him their staunch friend.

In the month of April, 1877, a wire was stretched from the home of Charles Williams, in Somerville, to his business office in Boston, three miles distant. To this, instruments were attached, which were



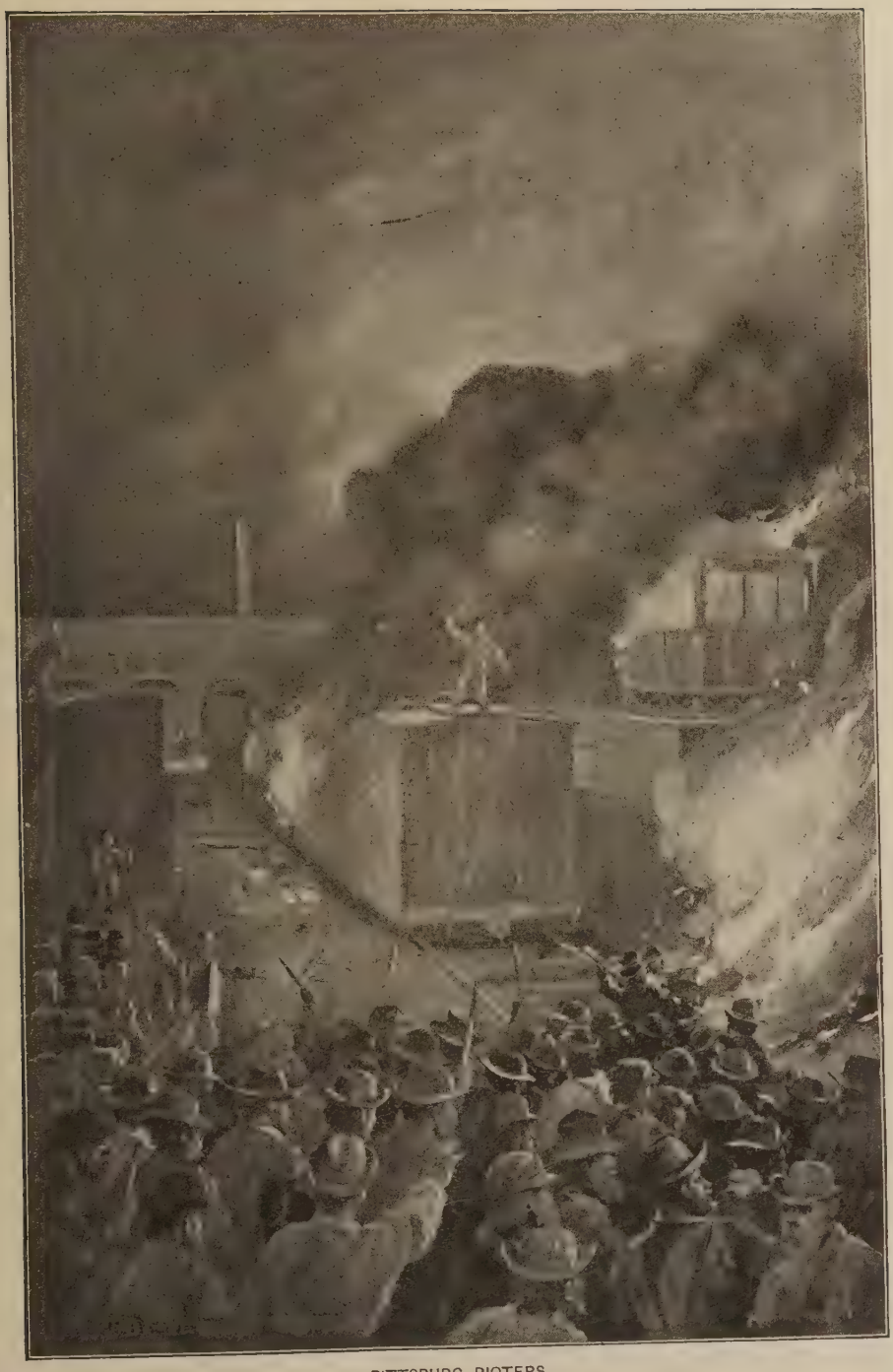
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

the invention of Alexander Graham Bell, of Boston, and spoken messages passed back and forth. This was the first use of the telephone for business purposes.

The Census of 1880

A gratifying fact was revealed by the census of 1880. Our population was 50,155,783, an increase of about 11,000,000 during the preceding ten years. The highest rate of increase was in the South.

The most alarming incident of the Hayes administration was the great railroad strike in the summer of 1877. Trouble had been



PITTSBURG RIOTERS

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY J. STEEPLE DAVIS

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PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

brewing for a considerable time in the mining districts over the question of wages, and it soon disturbed the manufacturing towns and cities. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company made a reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of its employees, who refused to accept it and "struck," July 14th, all the different branches joining in the revolt. A general sympathy was felt for the workmen, and a few days later strikes followed on the Pennsylvania, the Erie, and New York Central and their connections, including the Missouri and Pacific, and several lines west of the Mississippi. This great strike was led by the Brotherhood of Engineers, probably the most intelligent and powerful association of the kind in the country. It has more than fifty thousand members, several million dollars in its different treasuries, and is so conservative in its action that when it does strike it is promptly followed by the firemen, brakemen, and the rest of the railway employees.

Great Railway Strike

The strike assumed such formidable proportions that railway traffic was at a virtual standstill. The strikers would allow no one to take their places, and destroyed so much property that the militia were called out to protect the interests of the employers; but the militia either sympathized with, or were afraid of, the strikers. Then appeal was made to the United States authorities, whose soldiers know only one law—obedience to their officers.

When the militia was sent to break the deadlock at Baltimore, the rioters routed them "horse, foot, and dragoons," but the blockade was raised, July 19th, by three hundred regulars under General French. In an attempt to clear the streets the next day, nine persons were killed and twenty wounded. The strike spread until all the States except the cotton-growing ones were involved, and travel and the freight business were paralyzed.

Rioting in Pittsburg

Pittsburg for two days was at the mercy of a mob of twenty thousand rioters, who were as fierce as so many tigers. Law was trampled under foot, and property destroyed wholesale. A few ringleaders were shot down in self-defence by the soldiers, who were finally assailed with such ferocity that they were compelled to take refuge in the round-house belonging to the railway company. Thirsting for blood, the rioters set fire to oil-cars and pushed them against the building. The firemen who hastened to put out the flames were told that the first man who made the attempt would be killed. The torch was applied to the other buildings, and the Union depot, the

machine shops, and all the railway structures were burned. The soldiers imprisoned in the blazing round-house managed to escape across the river. One hundred and twenty-five locomotives and twenty-five hundred cars filled with valuable freight were destroyed. Men, women, and boys fought for plunder, which included almost

UNION STATION, PITTSBURG (AFTER THE RAILWAY RIOT)

every article that can be thought of, from pins to sugar, flour, sewing-machines, and gas stoves. Whiskey barrels were rolled into the street, the heads knocked in, and many of the rioters, already like savage beasts, became intoxicated maniacs.

Call upon the Regular Troops

It being apparent that no other recourse was left, President Hayes, at the request of the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland,

and West Virginia, sent regular troops into those States. In their presence the rioters succumbed without resistance. Before quiet was restored, however, a hundred persons were killed in Pennsylvania, and $10,000,000 worth of property destroyed.

There was rioting in many other places. An outbreak in Chicago,

ROUND HOUSE (AFTER THE RAILWAY RIOT)

Extent of the Strike

on the 26th of July, resulted in the death of nineteen persons. Thirteen were killed at Reading, and many wounded. Fully one hundred thousand laborers took part in the strike, and at one time more than six thousand miles of railway were rusting with disuse. Then came the reaction, the employees began returning to work, and by the end of the month the great railway strike was over.

The Nez Percé Indians lived in Idaho, and a treaty was made with

them as long ago as 1806, by Lewis and Clarke, the explorers. No trouble occurred with them until 1854, when an extensive section of their land was bought by the United States, and large reservations were set apart for them in Northwestern Idaho and Northeastern Oregon. Many of the chiefs were dissatisfied and refused to remove.

SCENE ON THE RAILROAD (AFTER THE RIOT)

Trouble with the Nez Perces

The troubles became so serious that in 1877 General Howard, commanding the Department of the Columbia, sent Colonel Miles with a force of regulars against the Indians. The leader of the Nez Percés was a chief known as Joseph, as handsome and royal-minded as the famous Tecumseh. He permitted no outrages or scalping by his warriors, and killed no women or children, but gathering his

tribe together, set out for the British possessions. This march, extending fifteen hundred miles, most of it through the wildest country, was conducted with a skill which compelled the admiration of

"FROM WHERE THE SUN NOW STANDS," ETC. (PAGE 1426)

his pursuers. General Merritt said that, all things considered, it was one of the most wonderful exploits in history. Despite the utmost exertions of the soldiers, Chief Joseph could not be overtaken

or brought to bay. He took his women and children safely through the mountains of Montana, and then found himself confronted by Colonel Miles and his regulars.

With the same astonishing skill, Chief Joseph eluded these Indian

CHIEF JOSEPH

fighters and crossed the Missouri near the mouth of the Mussel Shell, only to be surrounded in the Bear Paw Mountains.

A Great Indian Leader

He made a gallant struggle, but was defeated, October 4th. Several of his leaders escaped, but seeing that all hope was gone, Joseph the next morning advanced to Colonel Miles, and pointing to the sky, said:

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

"From where the sun now stands, I fight no more against the white man."*

General Howard, who was present at the surrender, admired Joseph and commended him for his resolution, complimented his military ability, and promised to be his friend. He pledged himself further to do what he could to secure good lands for him and his people on the reservation. General Howard was able to keep this promise, and Chief Joseph was deeply grateful therefor. Since then the Nez Percés have been among the most peaceful of all the Indian tribes, and it is safe to say that they will never again be involved in any trouble with the United States. Those who surrendered and who were captured outside the camp numbered four hundred. Twenty-six were killed and forty-six wounded.

Under the law of February 25, 1862, $150,000,000 was issued in Treasury notes, which bore no interest, and while not receivable for duties nor for interest on the public debt, were legal tender for all

* Among the thousands of visitors to the dedication of the Grant monument April 27, 1897, no one attracted more attention than Chief Joseph of the Nez Percés, who came at the special request of General Miles, commanding general of the United States Army. His suite consisted of Olocut, a sub-chief of his tribe; Amos, another Nez Percé, who acted as interpreter, and a young Sioux, who dressed in civilized costume and carried a cane. Chief Joseph wore the clothes of the reservation, but never disfigures himself with paint or powder. His handsome face and magnificent physique awakened admiration, and his manner was always dignified, as was befitting in the greatest Indian chief since the days of Tecumseh. He is fifty-seven years old, and the picture of superb health and rugged beauty. When he called at the headquarters of the Grant Memorial Committee he was highly pleased to receive from General Dodge an engrossed commission as aide-de-camp on his staff, he being the first Indian to receive a compliment of that character. The commission was made out in the chief's full name, "Hin-mar-too-we-ya-lot-kit," which in a general way means that he is the sea and the lake, the mountains, the thunder, and the little birds that sing. Chief Joseph came from his reservation in the State of Washington, where he left 150 Nez Percés, to persuade our Government to allow them to return to their old home in Idaho, where are 1,000 of his people. His impressions of the sights which he saw for the first time were expressed in quaint language: "This East is strange to me. I do not understand it all. The green of the trees and the grass is not here. The quiet of the woods is missing. It is all dirt and noise and hurry, and the people are strange. I notice many things as I walk, and they puzzle me. The white men have put up buildings which one cannot see to the top of. They tell me people stay there and labor during the day. I have had white men who know the ways of their fellows tell me many strange things. I can understand a little English myself, but I cannot speak any. The white men are very wonderful and skilful to do some of these things. They send the cars along on a rope and the buildings up into the sky. They have railroads in the air, and they go up and down the buildings without moving themselves. I have heard much of these wonders in Washington, and one or two of them I saw in Portland once. But here in New York it is all wonders, and I do not understand how the people live. It is good for me to see these things before I die, and so I must see them now, for I do not ever expect to leave my people for so long again."

other debts, public or private. Secretary Chase, the father of the "greenback," condemned the act as unconstitutional when he became Chief Justice, and so considered it from the first. He consented to what was against his own judgment, because he believed it necessary to save the nation. The total amount voted and issued was $450,000,000, of which very nearly all was outstanding on the 1st of January, 1864. Gold went to a premium and the silver coinage disappeared. Postage stamps and local issues of fractional currency were used for change, the Government coming to the relief by issuing the same, which were known as "shinplasters."

The Remonetization of Silver

The country was much stirred over the question of the remonetization of silver; that is, of bringing it again into circulation. Silver had been decreasing in value for some years, partly on account of the vast yield of the silver mines of Nevada and other sections in the West. Now the value of gold or of silver depends not upon the use made of it, but upon the cost of getting it. If silver were as plentiful and as easy to mine as lead, it would be worth no more than lead. New and cheaper ways of getting silver had been found, and immense quantities of it were sent out. The inevitable consequence was that its value, as compared with gold, steadily went down. Although, throughout the year 1873, a silver dollar retained an average value slightly above par (the highest rate was 1.016 and the lowest .981), with occasional rallies, this decline continued until, in 1896, a silver dollar was worth only .517 in gold. Congress demonetized silver in 1873; that is, declared that all debts must be paid in gold.

The "Greenback" Platform

The "Greenback" party—known also as the Independent or National party—insisted that all the money should be issued by the Government and none by the banks, and that the debt which the Government had pledged itself to pay in gold should be paid in greenbacks. The danger of this policy is that the Government might issue too much money and cause a great reduction in its value, and, in consequence, a reduction in wages.

The cry was raised that the blow at silver was meant to help the bondholders. The agitation so affected both parties in Congress that silver was remonetized in 1878.* President Hayes vetoed the bill,

* Down to 1873 the Government had coined but 8,000,000 silver dollars. From 1878 to 1885, 160,060,000 silver dollars were coined, the amount having greatly increased since then.

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

but it was passed over his veto, and the coinage of silver was ordered at the rate of $2,000,000 a month. For the first time in seventeen years, gold and paper money were of the same value, December 18, 1878.

Resumption of Specie Payments

In accordance with the law of 1875, the United States Government resumed specie payment, January 1, 1879—that is, for every paper dollar it had issued it prepared to pay a dollar in gold or silver. There were two hundred and fifty tons of gold in the United States Treasury at the time, equal in value with the silver to $138,000,000, or nearly one-half of the outstanding bonds. This made the public credit so strong that on the 1st of January only $11,000,000 were offered for redemption. Paper money, as every one knows, is much more convenient than silver and gold, and when people knew it was equally valuable, they preferred it.*

Another great work done during this period was the refunding of the debt. The high rate of interest required the Government to pay from one hundred to one hundred and fifty million dollars a year. Since all uncertainty of the payment of this debt was now removed, men were ready to loan money to the Government at a less rate of interest. New bonds were therefore issued and sold at a lower rate, and the money received was used to pay the old bonds. By this means $30,000,000 a year was saved in interest.

Yellow Fever in the South

The South has suffered a number of times from visitation by yellow fever, which occasionally appeared north of Mason and Dixon's line. The Government, during its early days, was once driven out of Philadelphia to Trenton by this scourge, which raged with great virulence in the summer of 1878. The worst outbreaks were at Memphis and New Orleans, from which all people who could do so fled in affright, until the frosts of autumn killed the poison germs.† About fifteen thousand persons died from the disease, which thus far has baffled all the efforts of the highest medical skill.

The mighty Mississippi, which, including its numerous tributaries,

* "If you have the gold or silver for this paper money, I don't want it," said the countryman; "but if you haven't any gold or silver, I must have it."

† Little Rock, Arkansas (and other places), kept out yellow fever by means of shotguns. Cordons of armed men patrolled the surrounding country, and turned back every person who could not prove he was not from an infected district. The train on which the writer was riding over the Iron Mountain Railway was stopped some distance outside of the city and no passenger was allowed to proceed unless he showed a clean bill of health. Looking out of the car window we saw the rusty tracks of the branch line leading to Memphis overgrown and almost hidden by grass.

has been and must always be indispensable to the full development of our country, is at times uncontrollable. Its current brings down such vast quantities of mud to be deposited about its mouth, that thousands of square miles of land have thus been made. It has been calculated that the delta advances several feet into the Gulf of Mexico every hundred years, which in the remote future will be bridged in this manner. Not only are millions of tons of mud and débris dropped to the bottom as the stream becomes sluggish, but they are distributed along the banks, which are steadily raised, until for long distances they are higher than the country on both sides. Thus in the State of Mississippi a person doesn't go "down" to the river, but "up" to it. The prodigious current is so swollen at times by the melting of snows and the overflow of its upper tributaries, that the banks or "levees" in the lower portion give way and the surrounding country is flooded. Many a steamer, groping along in the darkness, has been warned that it was miles from the channel by the brushing of limbs over its deck, or by the collision with the buildings of some plantation. The problem of preventing these disastrous breaks has not yet been solved, but the Eads jetties have rendered an important service to navigation in another direction. The continual falling of mud to the bottom in the delta caused many shallow places, which greatly hindered the passage of shipping. By the construction of jetties the mouth of the river was narrowed. This increased the velocity of the current to that extent that it scoured out vast quantities of mud and swept it into the Gulf of Mexico, leaving the channel deep enough for the heaviest shipping.*

A Great Problem

It is a curious fact that until quite recently the real source of the Mississippi was unknown. The honor of solving the problem belongs to Dr. Elliott Coues, who returned in 1894 from Lake Itasca and the sources of the Mississippi. He made no actual discovery, but proved the accuracy of the observations recorded by Nicollet and Brower.

"I have stepped across the Mississippi River," said Dr. Coues. "It was easy, for the stream was only about eight inches wide and two inches deep. I have seen the Father of Waters where he rises

Crossing the Upper Mississippi

* The total area of land submerged by the overflow of the Mississippi, in the spring of 1897, was 20,000 square miles, containing about 50,000 farms and nearly half a million people. The national Government was compelled to make a large appropriation for the relief of the sufferers, and many lives were lost.

literally out of the ground and starts as an infant rivulet, destined to cut the United States in twain with the mighty volume of his adult flood. To reach the source is a long and difficult journey. From

"LET'S SEE YOUR PAPERS"

Duluth I went to the terminus of the Duluth and Winnipeg Railway, at the little village of Deer Lake, Itasca County, Minn. There I hired a birch-bark canoe and a man to paddle, and proceeded up the river to Lake Itasca.

"I reached the lake after ten days' paddling through a pathless wilderness. Hardly any inhabitants were to be found in the region save a few Chippewa Indians. Making my camp on Schoolcraft

SPANNING THE MISSISSIPPI

Island in Lake Itasca, I made a thorough exploration of that body of water and the surrounding country. My visit was inspired chiefly

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

by the circumstance that I was about to publish a new edition of Pike's travels, and I found it desirable to examine the sources of the Mississippi for myself, particularly in view of the recent dispute on the subject.

"The whole of the Itascan basin, comprising thirty-five square miles, has been set apart by the Legislature of Minnesota as a State park, in order that the natural beauty of the region of the sources of the Mississippi may be preserved. Timber and game within the limits of the park are protected by law from depredations. Lake Itasca is a lovely sheet of water, embosomed in the primeval forest, 1,470 feet above the sea. It used to be called Elk Lake by the Indians, because it has a three-pronged shape, like the head of an elk with antlers outspread. Comparatively narrow throughout, it is about three miles in extreme length.

Lake Itasca

"Lake Itasca is a mere expanse of the infant Mississippi. Into it flows a small stream which is the veritable Father of Waters—the cradled Achilles, as Nicollet called it. It rises from springs at a distance of only half a dozen miles from the lake.

"The story of the search for the source of the Mississippi reads like a romance. After the discovery of the upper river in 1673 by Joliet and Marquette, and the discovery of the Falls of St. Anthony in 1680 by Hennepin, little more was known of the Father of Waters for nearly a century. In 1766 Capt. Jonathan Carver ascended the stream as far as the mouth of Rum River. In 1798 the famous English astronomer and surveyor, David Thompson, in the service of the Northwest Company, reached Turtle Lake. This lake, which sends a tributary to the Mississippi, was for some time supposed to be the source.

The Search for the Source

"The first white man known to have visited the neighborhood of the actual source of the Mississippi was William Morrison, a fur trader, who was certainly at Lake Itasca in 1803 or 1804. He never published anything on the subject; and it is only very recently that his priority of discovery has been known. The next explorer of the sources of the river was Lieut. Zebulon Montgomery Pike. He was the first American citizen to carry the flag of the United States into Northern Minnesota. He was sent by the Government to treat with the Indians and stop the sale of liquor in that region. Incidentally he purchased for $250 and some whiskey a tract of land nine miles square, which included the present site of Minneapolis. Congress

subsequently voted an additional payment to the Indians for this tract of $2,000.

"Lieutenant Pike proceeded by boat to the vicinity of the present Little Falls, in Morrison County, Minn. He got no farther with boats, and so continued his journey through the winter of 1805–6 on snowshoes and with sledges northward. He finally reached Leech Lake. This lake he mistook for the source of the Mississippi, and his report on this subject was held to be correct for some years afterwards.

The Work of Lieut. Pike

"In 1820 the Hon. Lewis Cass, accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft, the historian, went on an exploring expedition up the Mississippi as far as Cass Lake, so named at the time by Schoolcraft. In 1823 an Italian traveller, J. C. Beltrami, went over David Thompson's route to Turtle Lake, and reported that lake to be the true source. Evidently, however, he heard from the Indians about Lake Itasca, for he mapped it with approximate accuracy, though he was never there, and did not imagine that the Father of Waters sprang thence.

"Lake Itasca was rediscovered in 1832, when Schoolcraft, accompanied by Lieutenant Allen, United States army; the Rev. Mr. Boutwell, and others, were guided to the lake by a Chippewa Indian, known as Yellow Head. On this occasion Lake Itasca received its present name, which was made up of parts of the words *Veritas Caput*, signifying the 'true head' of the river. The Latin was bad, for it ought to have been *Verum Caput*. The lake had previously been known by the French name of *Lac à la Biches*, meaning Elk Lake. This was a translation of the Chippewa *Omoshkos Sogiagon*.

"Schoolcraft was very fond of such verbal jugglery as he used in forming the name of Lake Itasca. An island in Cass Lake he called Colaspi Island, the designation being made up of fragments of the names Schoolcraft, Cass, and Pike. The name he gave to Lake Shiba was composed of the initials of Schoolcraft, Houghton, Johnson, Boutwell, and Allen. The J of Johnson was made to serve as an I.

Schoolcraft's Explorations

"Schoolcraft's party made an examination of Lake Itasca, being satisfied that they had found the true source of the Mississippi. Not again until 1836 did any scientific man visit the spot. This was a Frenchman, J. N. Nicollet, who tried to ascertain the source of the feeders of Lake Itasca. Exploring southwards, he reached

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

the springs from which the infant river takes its rise. It should be understood that the Mississippi runs from its source directly northwards for a distance of fifty miles before turning about in a sort of fishhook bend and starting southward. To the baby stream before it enters Lake Itasca Nicollet gave the poetic name of 'Cradled Achilles.' He established its course in connection with three small lakes, since named Upper, Middle, and Lower Nicollet lakes—that is to say, he found that the little river ran through two of these small lakes and connected with the third. This explorer mapped the whole of the Itascan basin and determined the latitude, longitude, and altitude with such accuracy that subsequent surveys have only confirmed and amplified his observations.

"Cradled Achilles"

"Of late years several examinations have been made of the sources of the Mississippi. By far the most complete and accurate survey was accomplished by the Hon. J. V. Brower, under the auspices of the Minnesota State Historical Society. Through the efforts of the society the thirty-five square miles of which I have already spoken were reserved by the State for a park.

"The whole subject of which I have been speaking was befogged and thrown into dispute recently by a certain Captain Glazier, who, apparently for no other purpose than to advertise himself, published his alleged discovery of a new and true source of the Mississippi. By reducing the size of Lake Itasca, ignoring Nicollet's Cradled Achilles, magnifying a small side lake which he called Lake Glazier, and by stretching out one of the feeders of the latter, he produced a distorted map which actually imposed on the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain. Many of the errors thus originated have crept into the standard maps of the United States.

The True Upper Mississippi

"My recent investigations have verified in the minutest particulars the observations of Nicollet and Brower. It may fairly be said that there is nothing further to be learned about the true source of the Father of Waters. As a matter of essential fact, the true Upper Mississippi is the river called the Missouri. The stream that flows from Lake Itasca is merely a tributary. I ought not to forget to mention that I walked along the bed of the stream termed by Captain Glazier the infant Mississippi for a considerable distance dry shod. The little brook was dried up. Late measurements have reduced the length of the Mississippi from 3,184 miles to 2,555 miles."

China is the most populous country of the globe, and the Chinese

are a peculiar people. Placid, patient, industrious, and wonderfully ingenious, they have the faculty of living and saving money where an American or an Englishman would starve. They began swarming across the Pacific to California in such multitudes that the people became alarmed. They lived meanly, and eagerly accepted any and all kinds of labor for only a fraction of the wages paid to white men. But for them the Union Pacific Railway would not have been built for many years after 1869. That these barbarians are an inferior race, however, was proved in the late war with Japan, when they were overwhelmingly defeated by a nation that had only one-tenth of the population of China. That many of them are degraded and vicious is proved by a visit to "Chinatown" in San Francisco, and the Chinese quarters in other cities.

The Influx of Chinese

The influx of these yellow Asiatics caused so great a lowering of wages that the white laborers were incensed and turned against them. They were attacked, maltreated, and many killed, but still they came and the plague grew worse. Finally, in 1880, a treaty was made with China, which allowed the United States to stop immigration from that country for a time. Congressional legislation has followed in the same direction since then, so that, with all the marvellous cunning of the native of China, he finds it hard work to smuggle himself into our country or to stay after he has done so.

The Treaty of Washington, it will be recalled, was made in 1872. By its provisions Americans were allowed to take every kind of fish, except shell-fish, on the sea-coasts and shores and in the bays, harbors, and creeks of the provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the adjoining islands, without limit as to the distance from shore. In return, the United States agreed to give back the duties that had been collected on certain kinds of fish brought by British subjects into American waters. A dispute over the adjustment of the sums involved caused the matter to be placed in the hands of an arbitration commission, one member of which was appointed by the Queen, one by the President, and one by the Austrian ambassador at the Court of St. James.

The Halifax Commission

This commission, chosen in the summer of 1877, sat in Halifax. It rendered a verdict that the United States should pay to the British Government the sum of $5,500,000. England and the United States were equally surprised, and the latter was so angry that she

PERIOD VII — THE NEW UNITED STATES

was much inclined to refuse to pay. But she thought better of it, and the award was handed over in the autumn of 1878.*

The attention of the country had been drawn for several years to the coal regions of Pennsylvania, where an organization of murderous miscreants came into existence, under the name of "Molly Maguires," and perpetrated crimes at which humanity shuddered. The wealthy mine owners persisted in keeping the price of coal at an extortionate figure, and thus repelled the sympathy which otherwise would have been felt for them. At the same time the "coal barons" held the wages of the miners at the lowest point. These men, most of whom were foreign born, frequently struck. The "scabs" who came to take their places did so at the peril of their lives. They were driven away, or shot, or beaten to death, while bosses and superintendents, who simply carried out the orders of their employers, were assassinated. Some of these crimes were committed by daylight, and the murderers were well known in the community, but no one dared molest them.

The "Molly Maguires"

The lodges of Molly Maguires devoted their chief energies to killing the hated bosses and scabs. When it was decreed that some one was thus to be disposed of, the party selected to do the deed was notified, and he rarely or never failed to obey orders. Passenger trains were derailed; watchmen and station agents pounded to death; switches displaced, and trainmen shot by ruffians crouching like Indians in the woods.

Sometimes the murderers, like the rattlesnake, gave warning before they struck. A notice was served on the person that had offended them to leave within a brief space under penalty of death. If the warning was unheeded, death was almost inevitable. These notices were generally in execrable English, and ornamented with rude drawings of skull and crossbones, daggers, pistols, or coffins.

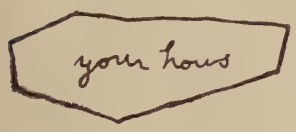
The Terrorized Region

The Molly Maguires terrorized the whole Schuylkill and Shamokin districts in Pennsylvania. Their atrocities were like those of the Apaches of the Southwest. They shot men in the presence of their pleading wives and children, and beat innocent persons to death while on their knees praying for mercy.

Some of the doings of the Molly Maguires seem incredible. Many

* It was said of the Halifax Commission award that under it we paid $10,000,000 for the privilege of catching $700,000 worth of fish, for in addition to the $5,500,000 cash, the remitted duties for twelve years were reckoned at $4,500,000.

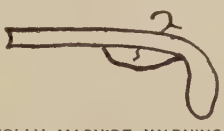
men did not venture out by day unless well armed, and stayed within doors at night and kept away from the windows. If a Molly was arrested, his comrades eagerly proved an *alibi* by committing perjury. They nominated officers and controlled elections. Members of the order became constables, county commissioners, policemen, chiefs of police, and one of them came within a hair of being elected a judge in Schuylkill County.

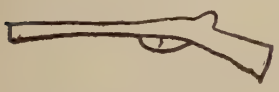


MOLLY MAGUIRE WARNING, No. 1

There was no more determined enemy of this hideous organization than the Catholic Church, which denounced and excommunicated in vain. One prominent priest, observing a well-known Molly in his congregation, "scored" him by name and then drove him out of his church. Another brawny, athletic priest attacked a leading Molly in the streets and beat him into insensibility. When within reach of any of the frequent affrays, the priests rushed amid the combatants and made sure that every blow descended upon the head of one of the detested wretches.

Molly Maguire Warnings


MOLLY MAGUIRE WARNING, No. 2


MOLLY MAGUIRE WARNING, No. 3

Those men, however, cared naught for church, for man, nor for God. They could not be crushed by ordinary means, and therefore extraordinary means was adopted.

One day an Irish tramp, called McKenna, straggled into the coal regions, representing himself as having fled from Buffalo for killing a man, and as being engaged in disposing of counterfeit money. He could sing a rollicking song, dance a jig, and make merry with all. It was not long before he was admitted into the order, and soon elected to an office, with whose innermost secrets he became familiar. He seemed to have become the most ferocious of all the Maguires.*

The Tramp McKenna

MOLLY MAGUIRE WARNING, No. 4

* Once when a gang of strikers and Mollies were overawed by the military, one of the order stepped out, and denounced the soldiers in such fierce language that their rage could hardly be controlled. Not only that, but he hurled stones at the men and called them cowards because they dared not fire. A private begged his captain to let him have a single shot at the ragged miscreant, but strict orders had been issued that there was to be no firing except in self-defence. The soldier asked his captain whether he would accept his plea of accident in case his gun happened to be discharged and the Mollie killed.

But, despite the wonderful nerve and tact of this detective, he was suspected by some of the leading Molly Maguires. Men who had been selected for victims received mysterious warnings, and the schemes of murder placed in charge of McKenna miscarried in some way and seemingly without any fault of his. This daring officer was obliged to send a daily report to headquarters in Philadelphia. He carried a small ink-bottle in his boot-heel, and wrote his reports late at night. Once a careless clerk sent him a letter directed to "James McParlan," but the latter secured it without the secret becoming known. Several of the most desperate Mollies determined to shoot the new member of their order, but he was never caught off his guard. When he knew a gang were waiting for him at a railway station, he sprang from the train and made off before it came to a stop. He was known to be an expert with the revolver, and he did not allow a man to "get the drop" on him.

A Brave Detective

Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Pennsylvania and Reading Coal and Iron Company, had employed McParlan with the express agreement that he should never be called as a witness or be compelled to show his hand. But the suspicion against him and his intimate knowledge of a number of the most atrocious murders led McParlan voluntarily to go on the witness-stand. The Mollies, who were under trial for their lives, and were confident of acquittal through the usual perjured *alibis*, saw with consternation the man who had been trusted by so many, and who carried with him all the secrets of their doings, walk forward to the witness-stand and announce his real name as James McParlan, a detective in the employ of Pinkerton, of Chicago.

Extirpation of the Band

Then the whole horrible story was told, and the guilt of the leading criminals laid bare. Nine of the Mollies were sentenced to death, and more sent to prison for long terms. The band was extirpated, and as Franklin Gowen, who acted for the prosecution, said: "Then all of us looked up. Then, at last, we were free, and I came to this county and walked through it as safely as in the most crowded thoroughfares of Philadelphia."

An interesting incident of Hayes's administration was the tour

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The captain was tempted to consent, but hesitated, and the defiant Mollie slouched away. It was afterwards proved that this man, who came so near death, was McKenna, or, in other words, James McParlan, a Pinkerton detective, who had been sent into the coal regions to help undo the Molly Maguires.

TRIAL OF THE MOLLY MAGUIRES

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FROM THE ORIGINAL DRAWING BY CHARLES KENDRICK

PERIOD VII
THE NEW UNITED STATES

around the world which was made by General Grant. He and his wife and son Jesse left Philadelphia, May 17, 1878, in the steamer *Indiana*, first visiting the most important points in England, where he was received with the highest honors. He and his family dined with Queen Victoria. Other cities and countries in Europe were visited, and in January they reached Egypt, where General Grant met Stanley, who had just returned from his perilous explorations of Central Africa. The tour took the party through the Holy Land, to Constantinople, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, and Holland. A call was made upon Bismarck, who received and treated his visitor with the greatest cordiality, advancing and shaking both of his hands.

Gen. Grant's Tour Around the World

Then followed a journey into Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, across the Baltic from Stockholm to St. Petersburg, where Grant met Emperor Alexander. There has long been a strong and peculiar friendship between Russia and the United States, and in our Civil War there was no nation that was such a firm supporter of the Union cause as Russia. Towards the close of the war, when England and France seemed on the point of intervening, the Czar sent a powerful fleet into American waters, as if to intimate to those unfriendly nations that he intended to take a hand in the business. This moral support had much to do in restraining Great Britain and France from acting as they wished.

It has sometimes seemed as if this friendship between Russia and the United States is the attraction of opposites—since one nation represents the extreme of democracy and the other of monarchy. The Emperor and Prince Gortschakoff treated Grant as if he were a brother returned to them after a long absence.

Leaving Europe, the travellers crossed to India and spent a number of days in its principal cities. They sailed from Calcutta in March for Siam, and thence to China. At Canton the party was received with a salute of twenty-one guns, the first time that so high an honor was paid to a visitor. Japan—now the most wonderful nation of the East—gave the great American an equally royal reception, the remarkable tour being completed by the arrival of the *Indiana* at San Francisco, September 20, 1879.

Movement to Renominate Gen. Grant

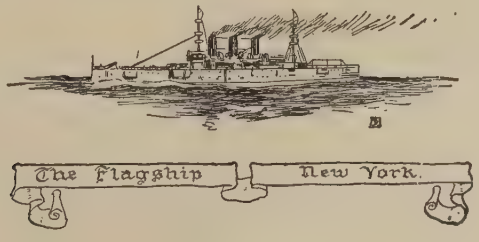
The National Republican Convention met in Chicago on the 2d and 3d of June. A determined effort was made to renominate General Grant. Roscoe Conkling was the leader in the movement, and 306 delegates voted for him 36 times in succession. His principal

rivals were James G. Blaine, of Maine, and John Sherman, of Ohio. The deadlock was broken by the opposition to Grant uniting upon James A. Garfield, of Ohio, with Chester A. Arthur, of New York, the candidate for Vice-President.

The Republican platform reaffirmed the doctrine of nationality as opposed to State sovereignty; advocated a system of discriminating duties in favor of American industries; demanded a restriction of Chinese immigration; was non-committal on the question of finances; praised the administration of Hayes, and charged the Democratic party with being unpatriotic in principles and fraudulent in its practices.

The Nominations

The Democratic Convention met in Cincinnati on the 22d of June, and nominated Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, of New York, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The platform renewed the adherence of the Democrats to the doctrines and traditions of the party; opposed the centralizing tendencies of the Government; clung to gold and silver money and paper convertible into coin; favored a tariff for revenue only; insisted upon a free ballot; condemned the Hayes administration as fraudulent; denounced the use of troops at the polls; favored a restriction of Chinese immigration, and pointed to the actions of Congress, which was Democratic in both branches, as a demonstration of Democratic wisdom and economy.

The prospect of Hancock's election was good, until in reply to an inquiry, he said that the tariff—one of the chief questions of the campaign—was a "local issue." This drove away many of his supporters, while Garfield lost a goodly number because of the charge that he favored the introduction of Chinese cheap labor. The South rallied to the support of Hancock, while the North, as a whole, supported his opponent. Each candidate carried nineteen States, but those of Garfield and Arthur brought them 214 electoral votes, while their opponents received only 155.

Election of Garfield